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The Washington Historical Quarterly

SPOKANE HOUSE

Spokane, as the commercial center of a considerable area of the Inland Empire of Washington and northern Idaho, is the logical successor of what was known in fur-trading days (more than one hundred years ago) as Spokane House, which then was a trade-center for eastern Washington, northern Idaho and western Montana.

Spokane House had its beginning in the extension of the fur-trade. Barter for furs was the first item of commerce in many parts of North America. Detroit and St. Louis, Winnipeg and Edmonton were founded on that barter. The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in 1670 is the oldest commercial organization in America today. Between 1780 and 1820 its most active rival was the North West Company, owned and controlled in Montreal and London, with field-headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior. This North West Company built a famous trading post on the headquarters of the North Saskatchewan in Canada, and in 1807 sent traders thence across the continental divide to the Columbia River near its source. Soon these traders pushed southward into the valleys of the Kootenai, Pend 'Oreille and Flathead Rivers and next into the Spokane valley. So in July, 1810, to the Indians of the Spokane country came the opportunity to purchase at home tobacco, calico, beads, powder and ball and the like, brought from Fort William 2000 miles away. This happened during the year preceding the building of famous Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia. Then began commercial Spokane of today.

Spokane House stood on the level flat between the Spokane and the Little Spokane, near their junction. This, the most historic spot in the Spokane valley, is reached by an easy and beautiful drive over Northwest Boulevard and along the bank of the Spokane, a little distance beyond Nine-Mile Bridge. Here, according to tradition, the Spokane and other Indians used to gather in great numbers to catch and dry salmon-trout and, of course, to gossip and gamble. Hence it was a proper place for a trading-post, and here the first white men ever in the Spokane valley foregathered.

The men who had a part in building Spokane House were unique in personality and achievement. Chief in authority was David Thompson, a *bourgeois* (partner) in the North West Company, whose name is now acclaimed as one of the greatest land-geographers the British race has ever produced. He discovered the source of the Columbia and had charge of the first business ever transacted by white men in this Inland Empire. In the spring of 1810, when starting on his annual trip to Fort William, he ordered a supply of trading-goods to be brought to this site, and building commenced. The men who received the instructions were Jacques Raphael Finlay and Finnan MacDonald, who had been assisting him in trade with the Flathead (Saleesh) and the Pend 'Oreille (Kully-spel) Indians. Finlay was familiarly known as Jaco of Joco rather than by his more artistic name and carried a considerable amount of Indian blood in his veins. MacDonald was born and bred in Scotland, a man of remarkable courage and physical strength, and both had native wives. These two men were first here, and building had begun when Thompson himself arrived, set his instruments and established the latitude and longitude of the site scientifically and accurately. Thus (1810-1811) began Spokane House.

Thompson had now done his work of exploration and surveying and establishing contact with the natives and the winter of 1812 brought another partner of the North West Company to Spokane House as chief executive. His very name, John George McTavish, suggests vigor and shrewdness. To him had been assigned the difficult task of elbowing out or buying out the new contestants for the field just establishing themselves at Astoria. Their old rivals, the Hudson's Bay Company, remained east of the Rockies but John Jacob Astor's new Pacific Fur Company had come into the country by way of the mouth of the Columbia. That contest belongs to another story. It was planned at Spokane House, and MacTavish was successful, but not until a rival trading-post flying the American flag had been built about an eighth of a mile away on this historic flat and maintained for a year and a half. (It was the custom in the fur-trade to build trading-posts alongside each other.) The goods bartered at that trading-post called Fort Spokane had been shipped by John Jacob Astor from New York in the ship *Beaver* to Astoria and represented American capital. The importance of this event lies in its influencing British statesmen toward placing their extreme claims for the boundary-line between the United States and Canada at the line of the Kootenai and Columbia Rivers. Partly be-

cause of Spokane House and Fort Spokane the Spokane country was never in danger of becoming a part of Canada.

After MacTavish there appeared at Spokane House a galaxy of men prominent in the history of the establishment and of the Columbia River; McMillan, Ross, Kittson, Ross Cox, Birney, Peter Skene Ogden, John Work (and others) and always the ubiquitous Finnan MacDonald. More prominent than any was Donald MacKenzie, Astorian and Northwester, who managed the business in the interior field for many years.

MacKenzie is not yet properly recognized in our history. He is described as physically a large man weighing more than 250 pounds but very active, a sure shot with the rifle, and remarkably able to deal with the natives. It was he who first recognized and developed the rich trade for furs in the Snake country i.e. southern Idaho.

One of these has left a brief account of the establishment and its location as follows: "Spokane House was a retired spot; no hostile natives were there to disquiet a great man. There the *Bourgeois* who presided over the company's affairs resided, and that made Spokane House the center of attraction. There all the wintering parties, with the exception of the northern district, met. There they were all fitted out; it was the great starting-point; although six weeks' travel out of the direct line of some and more or less inconvenient to all. But that was nothing; these trifles never troubled the great man.

"At Spokane House too there were handsome buildings: there was a ball-room even; and no females in the land so fair to look upon as the nymphs of Spokane; no damsels could dance so gracefully as they; none were so attractive. But Spokane House was not celebrated for fine women only; there were fine horses also. The race-ground was admired, and the pleasures of the chase often yielded to the pleasures of the race. Altogether, Spokane House was a delightful place, and time had confirmed its celebrity."

The system in vogue was as follows: Merchandise was brought annually from London by ship into the mouth of the Columbia, usually arriving in June or July. There it was transferred to large canoes or *batteaux* for carriage up-river, against current and over portages, about six hundred miles, to the mouth of Spokane River, and thence on pack-animals to Spokane House. The wintering traders and free hunters then made up their assortments and departed to the Kootenai, Flathead and Snake-river districts, to be gone all winter and return with furs they had gathered in trade and by trap-

ping the streams. Accounts were then balanced and the furs sent to the mouth of the Columbia for transport to the China market by the returning ship. (After the Hudson's Bay Company took over the business the furs were shipped to London instead of to China.)

The picture painted by Alexander Ross (quoted above) must not be taken too literally. He was really emphasizing the inaccessibility and inconvenience of the location of Spokane House, which had been the view of Donald MacKenzie. In 1821 the rival companies in Canada, after disastrous competition, came together in what we should now call a merger under the name of the older company, and in 1824 Spokane House was inspected by two distinguished men, Governor (afterward Sir) George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose names are both written large in the history of the Pacific Northwest. They immediately decided that the location was impracticable, being sixty miles off the line of travel and transportation then by water up and down the Columbia. So in the spring of 1825 Governor Simpson personally selected a site for a new trading-post just above Kettle Falls on the Columbia to be known as Fort Colville. Building was begun there, and in the spring of 1826 all property and merchandise had been moved to the new establishment. Thus ended Spokane House.

As a designation, Spokane House signified the usual complement of buildings necessary for a frontier trading-post. These were surrounded by a stockade with bastions at one or two corners, construction being of logs. At trading-posts among the roving tribes of the prairies east of the Rocky Mountains these stockades were very strongly built and guarded, but among the more quiet and peaceful Indians of the Flathead, Kootenai and Spokane countries they served more as a warning and to prevent petty thieving than to protect against hostile attack. The North West Company used the name House in distinction from that of Fort, more common to the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company.

No sketch or picture of Spokane House is known to exist, but the general plan and dimensions of such trading-posts are known. Entrance was by gates at front and rear, the front gate evidently having been toward the rushing current of the Spokane close by. All that remained to mark the exact site to the present generation were the cellar-holes of some of the buildings, but as late as 1835 one of the bastions excited the interest of Samuel Parker, who camped here while on his way to Fort Colville and made note of

it in his journal. Jaco Finlay and his numerous family evidently were allowed to use the place as a home after its abandonment. David Douglas, the famous English bontanist, visited him in the spring and summer of 1826 and found the family subsisting upon a vegetable diet of camass and moss cakes, cooked *a la Indiene*. A burying-ground not far away among the trees is mentioned by Douglas. According to tradition Finlay died in 1828 and presumably was buried there.

The trails from all directions converged at this spot. Governor Stevens, when first arriving in the Territory of Washington in 1853, used one of these in traveling from Antoine Plante's to Camp Washington on the Colville-Walla Walla road, where he conferred with Lieutenant George B. McClellan. The trail leading to the ford below the falls at Spokane did not follow the road as it now runs via Northwest Boulevard, but went across "Five-Mile Prairie," and according to tradition the race course mentioned by Ross was on that prairie.

Life at Spokane House was secluded and monotonous. As it was headquarters, all the bookkeeping was done here with care and accuracy and goods and furs passing in and out listed by competent clerks, to whom the English E. & O.E. doubtless was well known. But there also were rest and recreation and conviviality. Forest and stream abounded in game and fish, the garden furnished vegetables in season and for winter, and the packs from Fort William and Fort George (Astoria) brought the officers flour, sugar, tea and some of that which cheers as well as exhilarates. There were books to read, and the express twice a year brought letters from friends and relatives elsewhere. The traders returning from the field told tales of hardship, adventure and life-escapes. The hunters and servants were volatile and happy, and the officers were men of intelligence and good family-connections at home. There were no white women at the post. Limitations of this brief narrative permit only mention of these activities and personnel.

History and romance linger around this quiet and sheltered spot where the commerce and culture of Spokane had beginnings more than one hundred years ago; the most historic spot in the Spokane valley.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

SOME NOTES UPON CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY

In a recent article in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (vol. xx, p. 193) upon "The Widow of Robert Gray," Professor E. S. Meany has shown how very little is known of his life outside of the years in which he was engaged in his epoch-making voyages. The following remarks are offered as supplemental to that article and as a contribution towards the filling in of some of the blanks in the story.

Captain Robert Gray came of good New England pioneer stock, being distantly related to Governor Edward Winslow of the Plymouth Colony. The son of William and Elizabeth Gray, he was born on May 10, 1755, at Tiverton, Newport County, Rhode Island. (Arnold's *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850*, vol. 4, p. 83.)

When he was about twenty years of age came the Revolutionary War. In Mrs. Gray's petition to Congress, January 17, 1846, she states that in that struggle he was in the naval service of his country; but some considerable search has failed to discover any details thereof or even to uncover any record in support. Unfortunately, Mrs. Gray does not lay any stress on this fact, though it would, doubtless, have been a strong support to her petition.

At the close of that war Massachusetts roused herself to re-establish her foreign trade, which had always been her life-blood. Navigation laws closed the ports of many European countries; but the rich Orient was open. Early efforts showed that the produce of New England was not altogether satisfactory to the Chinese and this forced the Boston merchants to seek a new medium of exchange. Just then came the knowledge of the fur wealth of the Northwest Coast which Captain Cook's last voyage had disclosed to the world. Here was the possibility of combining the trade in furs with the China trade and thereby utilizing the silky sea-otter skin in the purchase of teas, silks, cottons, nankeens, and chinaware. This thought took material form in the voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, 1787-90, the pioneer effort of Boston which enabled it to obtain and retain the trade of the coast. Captain John Kendrick commanded the expedition and the ship, *Columbia*. On the outward voyage Captain Robert Gray was on the 90-ton sloop, *Washington*; but, the captains having exchanged vessels, he returned in 1790 on the *Columbia*. On his second voyage to the Northwest Coast, 1790-93, Gray discovered the river which made him and his vessel famous—the Columbia. Thus from 1787

to 1793 Captain Robert Gray stands in the full glare of the light of history.

Gray returned in the *Columbia* from his second voyage on July 25, 1793. He seems to have had enough of far wandering and to have resolved upon a more settled life. He was now thirty-eight years of age, and home and wife and family began to crowd into the center of his life-picture. On January 15, 1794, he bought a "brick messuage and land in Back Street," Boston. Nearly three weeks later, February 3, 1794, he was married by the Rev. John Eliot to Martha Atkins, the eldest daughter of Silas Atkins, of Boston. (*Boston Records*, vol. xxx, p. 135.) His wife came of good Pilgrim line, being the fifth in descent from John Howland of the *Mayflower*. Remembering that on that decisive voyage John was washed overboard, but ultimately saved, one may pause to consider what the situation and subsequent life of Captain Gray might have been had the incident ended fatally. Mrs. Gray was born in 1771, being thus some sixteen years younger than her husband.

Captain Gray and his bride took up their residence in the home which he had just bought on Back, now Salem, Street, where they appear to have spent the first four or five years of their married life. There in November, 1794, was born their first child, Robert Don Quadra Gray, named after that genial and lovable figure, Senr. Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandante at Nootka during Captain Gray's second voyage and for whom he entertained the deepest friendship. This boy, Gray's only son, died on October 5, 1801, aged six years and eleven months. *The New England Palladium* of October 9, 1801, has the following entry of his death: "In this town, Robert D. J. Q. Gray, aet. seven years, only son of Captain Robert Gray." Probably his early death accounts for the fact that Mrs. Gray does not mention him in her petition of January 17, 1846, reproduced in Professor Meany's article already referred to and to be found in House Doc. No. 172, 29th Congress, 1st Session, and in House Reports, No. 456, 29th Congress, 1st Session.

The second child, Martha Howland Gray, was born on May 30, 1796, and apparently named for the maternal grandmother, Martha Howland Atkins. She married Jacob Bancroft, by whom she had eight children. The descendants of these children are the only lineal representatives of Captain Robert Gray. Her husband died, August 35, 1880. She survived him, dying March 24, 1885, at the age of almost 89 years. The notice in *Boston Evening Tran-*

script, March 26, 1885, read: Bancroft, 24th inst., Martha Howland, widow of Jacob Bancroft, and daughter of Captain Robert Gray, 88 years."

The third child was Elizabeth Dennis Gray, born January 1, 1798. When she was about fifty years of age she became the wife of Charles Willey of South Windsor, Connecticut. This is an inference derived from Mrs. Gray's statement in her petition of January, 1846, that three of her daughters were then unmarried, coupled with the record of the distribution of her property in 1857 in which appears the name of Elizabeth D. Willey. From the fact that in her will (Suffolk Probate Files, No. 64,889) she mentions her husband's children, but says nothing of her own, it is inferred that she had no issue and that she was the second wife of Charles Willey.

The fourth child was Abigail Quincy Gray, born April 9, 1800. She died unmarried at some time prior to July 10, 1879. The exact day has not been ascertained; the above vague statement is merely an inference from the will of her sister, Elizabeth D. Willey.

The fifth and last child, Mary Ann Gray, was born May 18, 1801. She, too, was never married. The exact date of her death has not been discovered, but upon the same material as in the case of her sister, Abigail, it is inferred to have been at some time prior to July 10, 1879.

All this time, it is believed, that Captain Gray was usually in the coasting trade, sailing out of Boston. When the trouble with France arose in 1799 he became captain of the privateer, *Lucy*, a ship of 201 tons, mounting 12 carriage guns and with a crew of 25 men. The commission signed by John Adams, President of the United States, is dated, November 4, 1799, and authorizes the subduing, seizing, and taking of "any armed French vessel which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas." The war clouds having blown away Gray returned to the merchant service, and in May, 1800, was at Dublin and Liverpool in command of a vessel then ready to sail on her return voyage to Boston, but whose name unfortunately is at present unknown. For the information in this paragraph we acknowledge indebtedness to the Rev. Dr. Clifford Gray Twombly, of Lancaster, Pa., one of Captain Gray's descendants.

Before 1798, Captain Gray bought another house on Back Street. Nevertheless his financial position seems at that time to have been poor. In March, 1798, he disposed of it, describing it as: "a certain three story brick dwelling house situated in Back

Street—being the house I now live in." About the same time, May 28, 1798, he mortgaged the house he had first occupied in Back Street. Two years later, presumably owing to the death of the mortgagee, he redeemed this mortgage, but by the common expedient of raising the money on another mortgage. From the names of the two mortgagees, Timothy Atkins and John Williams Quincy, one may hazard the guess that they were connections of Captain Gray by marriage—the former being, probably, a brother of Mrs. Gray and the latter having married her sister, Abigail.

"Robert Gray, Captain, Back Street," shows in the Boston directories for 1796 and 1798. In the latter year, as already mentioned, he sold the three-story brick house which he occupied on Back Street. Where he lived subsequently is not known. He still owned the first home—that which he had bought in January, 1794. If he occupied that residence it is passing strange that his name does not appear in the next three issues: 1800, 1803, 1805. Perhaps he had temporarily removed from Boston, for "Robert Gray, house, Snowhill Street," appears in the Boston directories of 1806 and 1807. It may be explained that Snowhill Street was very close to, in fact might be looked on as (with a turn) a continuation of, Back Street. Thereafter the name of Robert Gray disappears from the printed page, and, in 1810, comes: "Gray, Martha, Snowhill Street." Now, the Robert Gray of Snowhill Street may or may not be our captain; but if he is not, then it is singular that, when his name drops out, a name corresponding with that of our Robert Gray's wife takes its place. Through the issues for 1813, 1816, 1818, we have: "Gray, Martha, widow of Robert," living, in the former year, at 19 Prince Street and in the latter years at 72 Prince Street; and so on in the subsequent directories—for example, 1820 shows: "Gray, Martha, widow of Robert," at 83 Federal Street. These entries, it is believed, clearly relate to the widow of Captain Robert Gray and probably the entries of 1806 and 1807 refer also to him. If it be urged that this last statement cannot be correct, inasmuch as Captain Gray died in 1806 and the 1807 directory contains his name, two answers may be made: that the volume for 1807 was probably printed in 1806, and, secondly, that the date of Captain Gray's death is not definitely known.

This brings us to the question of the date of the death of Captain Robert Gray. Mrs. Gray in her petition, January 17, 1846, vaguely says that she "was left a widow nearly forty years ago;" and the Committee of the House reporting on March 27, 1846, stated that "Capt. Gray died in the summer of 1806." The late

Rev. E. G. Porter, a descendant, in an article on "The Ship Columbia and the Discovery of the Oregon," (*New England Magazine*, June, 1892, p. 488) writes that Gray "died in 1806 at Charleston, S.C." Greenhow, in *History of Oregon* (London, 1844), p. 237, gives 1809 as the year of Captain Gray's death. Miss Agnes C. Laut, in *Vikings of the Pacific*, p. 238, takes considerable sea-room, stating that "Sometime between 1806 and 1809 Gray died in South Carolina, a poor man." The Rev. Dr. Twombly says in a letter in May, 1929, that "Captain Robert Gray died of yellow fever on one of his voyages from South Carolina and was probably buried at sea." This appears to be the tradition preserved in the family. The files of the *Charleston Courier* for 1806 have been carefully searched in the hope that they might supply the desired information. In vain.

Captain Robert Gray died intestate, and on May 28, 1810, letters of administration were granted to his widow, Martha. (Suffolk Probate Files, No. 23,525.) In the inventory filed by her, June 11, 1810, the value of his estate is given as \$240.18, and in her account filed December 10, 1810, the four daughters are mentioned, but not by name. In taking out this administration Mrs. Gray gave a bond for \$2,000, and one of her sureties was John Williams Quincy, the husband of her sister, Abigail. If Captain Gray died in 1806 it is singular that the application to administer such a trifling estate should be delayed until 1810. Accordingly the Boston newspapers for the year 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 and up to June, 1810, were carefully searched for any reference to his death; but in vain. As it seems incredible that a man who pioneered a trade that brought fortunes to many in Boston and whose discovery of the Columbia River formed one of the important bases of the claim of the United States to Old Oregon should pass away without some notice being taken of his decease, the search will be continued.

Mrs. Gray outlived her distinguished husband many a year—probably more than half a century. Her death is recorded in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 31, 1857: "In this city, 27th instant, Mrs. Martha, widow of Captain Robert Gray, 86." Concise! One of her sons-in-law, Jacob Bancroft, was appointed administrator of her estate. On May 10, 1858, he filed an account showing her personal estate as \$6,786.25, and that the sum of \$1,323.92 $\frac{1}{2}$ had been paid to each of her daughters: Martha H. Bancroft, Elizabeth D. Willey, Abigail Q. Gray, and Mary A. Gray. (Suffolk Probate Files, No. 40,980.)

F. W. HOWAY and ALBERT MATTHEWS.

WHAT BECAME OF BENJAMIN CLAPP?

There is an unrecorded chapter in the life of one of the Astorians. It was probably enacted somewhere in the wide Pacific, and it is hoped that some reader of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* may be able to throw some light upon the mystery.

In the story of Astoria there are many little glimpses of Benjamin Clapp, although his first name was not mentioned. Other mentions and a few letters are found in widely scattered places, and then what is known comes to an abrupt close, with a suggestion that the last chapter may contain something which connects him with this part of the world.

Diligent search has failed to throw any light upon his early life up to October 10th 1811,¹ when he sailed from New York on the *Beaver* as one of the American clerks of the Astorian expedition.² There is a little glimpse of him at the Island of Massafuero off the coast of Chile, and at the little village which later developed into Honolulu. He arrived at Astoria May 12th. 1812, and was appointed to serve at that fort along with Gabriel Franchere whom he accompanied on a voyage in the *Dolly* during October 1812.³

Duncan McDougall, the commandant of the fort was in ill health during the following winter, which threw Franchere and Clapp much together, and since they had similar tastes for music and literature, they became warm friends. Franchere recorded that he was a man of amiable character and agreeable conversation, which suggests that he spoke French fluently while his enjoyment of the "choice library" at Astoria would indicate that he was a man of considerable culture. They also amused themselves with the musical instruments at the fort, so that this pleasant little picture helps to offset some of the darker shadows which are inseparable from the story of the Astorians.⁴

The restoration of Mr. McDougall's health was evidenced by his sending Franchere and Clapp to the Chinook village to arrange the marriage which is so dramatically recorded by Washington Irving, who, however, neglected to even hint that the example of the superior was followed by his subordinate, Benjamin Clapp, who also had found that one of the Chinook damsels was most attractive and

1 For date see Alexander Henry, *Original Journals*, edited by Elliott Coues, Francis P. Harper, New York, 1897. Page 763.

2 Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 1831, I, pp. 1, 14, 24 Gabriel Franchere, *Narrative*, 1854, Clarke, Ohio, reprint 1904, page 276.

3 Franchere, 278.

4 Franchere, 279, Cox I. 118.

had accordingly gone through the necessary formalities to obtain the consent of the tribe and had then brought her in triumph to the fort as his bride.⁵

Whether he found the union distasteful, or whether his spirit was stirred by the thought of war and a desire to take part in it is not on record, merely that when Mr. Wilson Price Hunt sailed on the *Albatros* in August, 1813, Benjamin Clapp accompanied him. He may have gone merely as an assistant to Mr. Hunt, expecting to return in a short while. In any event Mrs. Benjamin Clapp remained at the fort and doubtless watched anxiously for the return of her husband.⁶

Arriving at the Marquesas Islands Mr. Hunt found a little squadron of vessels, British whalers captured by Commodore David Porter, United States Navy, of U.S.S. *Essex* and her consort. There was a shortage of seamen to man these prizes and of officers to command them, so that with conditions as they were at Astoria, Clapp was more needed in the United States Navy than he was as a clerk of the Pacific Fur Company so that Mr. Hunt willingly gave him his release in order that he might become a midshipman under Commodore Porter.

The first mention of him is on November 18th, 1813, when he was official witness to the "taking possession" of the Island of Nukihiva of the Marquesas group, which for a brief period rejoiced in the name of Madison Island, in honor of the President of the United States.⁷

On December 8th the name of Benjamin Clapp was entered upon the books as acting midshipman⁸ and he was placed under the command of Lieutenant John M. Gamble of the Marine Corps, who was left in charge of the prize whalers when Commodore Porter sailed from the Marquesas on December 12th.⁹

His first duty was to help in superintending the transfer of whale-oil from three of the captured vessels to the *New Zealander*, which sailed with one thousand nine hundred and fifty barrels of that valuable commodity, leaving Lieutenant Gamble with Clapp and Midshipman William Feltus and barely sufficient men to navigate two of the remaining vessels, so that it would be necessary to

⁵ Washington Irving, *Astoria*. Chap. 56. Henry, 912.

⁶ Franchere, 288. Note error in Alexander Ross, *First Settlers*, 1849, Clarke, Ohio, reprint, 1904, page 264.

⁷ David Porter, *Memoir*.

⁸ Records, United States Navy. Data supplied through courtesy of Capt. D. W. Knox, United States Navy. Naval Records and Library, Washington, D.C.

⁹ Records, United States Marine Corps. Data supplied through the courtesy of Lieut. Col. E. R. Beadle, United States Marine Corps.

burn the *Greenwich*, which might otherwise have again fallen into British hands.

It required considerable time to prepare the two vessels and to remove as much as possible from the *Greenwich*, while to make matters worse one of the best seamen was drowned and four others stole a whaleboat and deserted.

When finally the *Seringapaten* was ready for sea, some of the men mutinied, and overpowering Gamble, Feltus and Clapp, made them prisoners and sailed out of the harbor, having wounded Gamble during the outrage. When fairly out to sea the three officers were placed in a leaky boat, while the ship sailed away, leaving them to reach the shore as best they could. They succeeded in doing so, but with much difficulty.

The number remaining was now so few that the prospect of plundering the two remaining vessels caused the natives to make an attack in which Midshipman Feltus and three men were killed, and another dangerously wounded, although he, with one uninjured seaman managed to escape by swimming, and were rescued by Clapp and some others.

There were now but eight survivors left, five of whom were either sick or wounded, but the *Greenwich* was burned and the little band sailed away, May 10th, 1814, in the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, which was one of the whalers captured from the British. Clapp and two men alone were able to work, so the voyage must have been most arduous. Yet without a chart they managed to reach Honolulu by May 25th, where Captain Winship befriended them, and they were able to obtain much needed supplies by promising to take one of the chiefs and two of his retainers to the Island of Hawaii.

It is necessary here to make a break in the narrative, since the next episode is best given by one of the participants. When the *Isaac Todd* belonging to the North-West Company sailed from Rio de Janiero, Brazil, on her voyage to Astoria, she was accompanied by H.M.S. *Phoebe*, *Cherub* and *Raccoon*, since it was supposed that Commodore Porter and two American vessels were protecting the American fort on the Columbia River.

At the Island of Juan Fernandez it was learned that Porter was in that region, so the *Raccoon* was sent on to Astoria while the *Phoebe* and *Cherub* went in search of the American squadron, which they succeeded in capturing at Valparaiso, Chile, March 27, 1814. The *Cherub* then sailed to the Hawaiian Islands, and happened to leave Kealakeua Bay, of the Island of Hawaii, just before Clapp on

the *Sir Andrew Hammond* had reached that island with the three Hawaiians as passengers.

In the British Admiralty in London is the old log of H.M.S. *Cherub*, written by Captain Tudor Tucker, Royal Navy, the commander.¹⁰

"June 12th, 1814. Sunday.

"4 a.m. saw a strange Sail, made Sail in chace.

"7.30 the chace hoisted American Colours & fired a Gun to leeward. We hoisted an American Ensign & Pendant with a white Flag at the Fore Top Galt. Mst. head with Free Trade & Sailors Rights printed in it—

"At 9 fired a Shot at the chace & hoisted English Colours & at which she struck her Colours, down Boat & boarded do. she proved to be the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, an English Whaler Prize to the American frigate Essex. Sent a Lieut. a Midn. & 15 men on board her and received 2 Officers & 18 Seamen from her."

Poor Benjamin Clapp had certainly had various experiences during his half year in the United States Navy.

The following Sunday, June 19th, he was taken over to the *Charon*, where he was held prisoner, the records referring to him as the "Mate" apparently of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*.¹¹

There is much uncertainty as to the next six months. Franchere mentions him as having been at Buenos Ayres,¹² and it may have been there that he was transferred from the *Charon* to the *Cherub*, since he seems to have been released at Rio de Janeiro, December 15th, 1814. Clapp was now far from home, and presumably penniless, since he could have had but little money when he left Astoria, and there had been no pay-day for him during his year in the Navy. Somehow he managed to survive until the following June, when he succeeded in finding someone to honor his draft on the Minister Plenipotentiary.

In the records of the Navy Department is a letter from him to the Secretary of the Navy, dated July 2, 1815, from Rio de Janeiro, asking that the draft for two hundred and fifty dollars he had drawn be charged against his salary account. It was probably the first time that the authorities had known of his being in the Navy, so in order to credit him with any salary his name was duly entered on the rolls and a warrant commissioning him as Midshipman was accordingly sent to him.

¹⁰ Records in British Admiralty, (51/2206). Data supplied through the courtesy of Miss Phina Schrader, 57 Chancery Lane, London, W.C., England.

¹¹ British Admiralty. *Musters*, Series II, 4524.

¹² Franchere, 408.

But poor Clapp was doomed to troubles, and he discovered that the commission was dated November 21, 1815, instead of December 8th, 1814, which meant the loss of almost a whole year's salary. It is not therefore surprising that there should also be a second letter requesting that the date of the commission be corrected, which was promptly done and sent to him in New York where he had arrived at last.

The war being over there was no desire in the heart of Benjamin Clapp for any more service in the Navy, while the memories of the Pacific region filled him with a yearning to return. Possibly the thought of his dusky wife still waiting for him may have been a factor, since she must have had considerable attractiveness as she had supplanted the bewitching Jane Barnes in the rather uncontrolled affections of Donald McTavish,¹³ whose tombstone still remains at Astoria.

The records show that Clapp requested leave of absence "in order to perform a voyage to the Pacific Ocean" which was granted on December 23rd, 1815, and then he passes out of the picture, with merely the pencilled note "Resigned" written opposite his name, without date or details.

On what vessel he sailed, or where he went is not known; whether he returned to claim his wife or had forgotten her; whether his name figures in some further episodes or is lost in oblivion. The last chapter of his story is now a mystery.

Someone who reads this little article may be able to answer the question: What became of Benjamin Clapp?

J. NEILSON BARRY

13 Henry, 912.

A MOUNT RAINIER CENTENNIAL

In 1833, Dr. William Fraser Tolmie made a journey from Nisqually House to Mount Rainier. It was a notable undertaking as the first near approach to the great peak. He kept a diary. Parts of that precious document have taken their places as prized publications among the works on the Pacific Northwest. An appropriate monument to the man and to his famous alpine excursion is found in Tolmie Peak in the northwestern corner of Rainier National Park.

As the centennial of Doctor Tolmie's arrival in the Pacific Northwest approaches, many people are thinking of commemorating it. Two preliminary events are worth recording. Mr. C. B. Bagley furnishes the account of one of these, an informal celebration of the ninety-sixth anniversary of Doctor Tolmie's arrival in the Northwest. The other preliminary item is a letter proposing a centennial celebration in 1933. It was written to Mr. Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service, Washington, D.C., by Asahel Curtis, of Seattle, chairman of the Rainier National Park Advisory Board. A copy of the letter was sent to The Mountaineers, Inc., and to certain northwestern newspapers. It will undoubtedly prove a sufficient impulse to produce the desired result. In that case, some picturesque chapters of local history will certainly be revived. To further the cause, the letter by Mr. Curtis is here published in full, following the account of the recent celebration in Victoria.—EDITOR.

Ninety-sixth Anniversary of Doctor Tolmie's Arrival

On Saturday, May 4, 1929, at their residence in Victoria, the Misses Tolmie celebrated the 96th anniversary of their father's arrival at Fort Vancouver. The occasion was marked by the presence of a number of interested guests representing historic families in the Pacific Northwest, with whom Dr. Tolmie was intimately connected during his long and honorable career as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company and member of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island. The oldest guest present, Mr. James R. Anderson, who is 87 years of age, is the son of A. C. Anderson, author of the first history written of the Pacific Northwest. Other honored guests were: Mrs. Dennis Harris, daughter of Sir James Douglas; Mrs. J. O. Grahame; Mr. George Simpson McTavish, (descendant of Sir George Simpson) and Mrs. McTavish; Mrs.

S. F. Tolmie (wife of Hon. Dr. Tolmie, present Premier of British Columbia), and Miss Carol Tolmie, their daughter; Dr. E. C. Hart and Mrs. Hart; Mr. John Andrews, great-grandson of Dr. W. F. Tolmie; Mrs. W. F. Bullen, granddaughter of Sir James Douglas; and Mr. John Hosie, Provincial Archivist and Miss Hosie. Owing to indisposition Mrs. Higgins, daughter of the Hon. J. S. Helmcken, and Mr. J. O. Grahame were unable to be present.

The guests were entertained at the historic old solid mahogany table which, with the accompanying chairs, formerly graced the dining hall at Fort Vancouver nearly one hundred years ago. The table is a treasured relic in the Tolmie family and it naturally formed an appropriate centre for the function. In a sense the gathering was a reunion of historic families around the festive board. After a bountiful tea around the old table, Miss J. W. Tolmie called upon John Hosie to make a few remarks. Mr. Hosie briefly recounted the circumstances of Dr. W. F. Tolmie's arrival at Fort Vancouver, and his reception by Dr. John McLoughlin. Mr. Hosie paid a glowing tribute to the character, attainments, and distinguished services of Dr. Tolmie.

In reminiscent mood the next speaker, J. R. Anderson, entertained the company with interesting recollections of his first meeting with Dr. W. F. Tolmie, of various incidents and events in which Dr. Tolmie played an important role. He spoke of Dr. Tolmie's innate kindness of heart and of the wonderful hospitality dispensed at Cloverdale over a long period of years. He recalled the fact that the first apples he ever ate or saw were at Fort Vancouver, given him by Mrs. Douglas and grown at Fort Vancouver. In passing he recalled the names of many notabilities who had sat around the old table at the Fort, including David Douglas, botanist, Ulysses S. Grant, General Sherman, General Sheridan, Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, Commander Wilkes, Theodore Winthrop, and many others.

Mrs. Dennis Harris spoke in similar strain, mentioning the friendly relationships that existed between the Douglas and Tolmie families, and describing in detail a visit paid by a company of Victorians to Nisqually in 1864.

In behalf of the guests Mr. George Simpson McTavish thanked the Misses Tolmie for their hospitality, remarking that it was a great honor to be present on such a historic anniversary. Miss J. W. Tolmie, who presided, made a graceful acknowledgment.

C. B. BAGLEY.

Centennial Celebration Proposed

Seattle, Washington

November 22, 1929

Mr. Horace M. Albright, Director,
National Park Service,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Albright:

Nineteen hundred thirty-three will be the hundredth anniversary of the visit of white man to that territory which is now the Rainier National Park. This visit was first made by W. F. Tolmie, then holding a position with the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Tolmie ascended the Puyallup River with Indian guides and climbed a peak in the northwest corner of the Park.

Mr. Tolmie remained with the Hudson's Bay Company practically all his life, later on was one of the factors, and when the United States took over the territory now comprising Western Washington he moved with his family to Victoria. His family has been prominently identified with the history of the Pacific Northwest and Mr. Tolmie's son is now the Premier of British Columbia.

It seems peculiarly fitting that recognition should be given to this centennial and on behalf of the Rainier National Park Advisory Board I have suggested that some appropriate ceremony be held and have invited Premier S. F. Tolmie to be the guest of our Board on that occasion, which invitation Mr. Tolmie has accepted.

The Northwest entrance road approaches the Mountain on much the same ground over which Mr. W. F. Tolmie traveled on his first visit to the Park, and a peak and a creek in the northwest corner of the Park have been named in his honor. Because of this I wish to suggest that we expedite the work in the northwest corner of the Park with the hope that we have a road completed to Mowich Lake by 1933. This can be done by letting a clearing contract in 1930, and grading and construction in 1931 and 1932. The date of Mr. Tolmie's visit to this region was in September so we would have a considerable part of the construction period of 1933 if necessary.

I wish further to suggest that the entrance arch in this corner of the Park be emblematic of the pioneer explorer, trapper and hunter who first opened the Northwest preceding the actual settler by many years; that there be placed on this entrance a plaque recording this first visit to the Mountain, the nature of the visit and the fact that this entire area now constituting Western Washington

—which, at the time of Mr. Tolmie's visit was under the English flag, was transferred to the United States without recourse to arms but through the peaceful methods of arbitration. I believe that no such similar transfer of territory had ever taken place in the history of the world. It was here on Puget Sound that the most serious conflict of opinion occurred and where there was the greatest danger of armed conflict between the people. In fact, for a considerable time, a portion of the territory in the San Juan Islands was jointly occupied by the troops of both nations.

The people of both British Columbia and of Washington are proud of the fact that these two nations were able to settle this difficulty by arbitration. This date will also mark the 120th year of peace between these two nations—a situation without parallel in world history. It, therefore, seems particularly appropriate that we celebrate this event with a ceremony participated in by the people of the two nations.

I wish you would give serious consideration to these suggestions and advise me at an early date.

Sincerely yours

ASAHEL CURTIS, Chairman.

Official Approval

That the suggestion by Mr. Curtis has met with prompt official approval is seen in the reply, dated at Washington December 6, 1929, by Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service. That reply includes the two following paragraphs:

"I have your very interesting letter of November 22 in regard to the invitation extended to Premier S. F. Tolmie to be the guest of your board in 1933 which will be the hundredth anniversary of the visit of white man to that territory which is now the Rainier National Park. I quite agree with you that it is peculiarly fitting that recognition should be given to this centennial and it is especially fitting that Premier Tolmie should be the guest of honor in view of the fact that the first visit to the park was made by his father, W. F. Tolmie, then holding a position with the Hudson's Bay Company.

"In regard to your further suggestion that the entrance arch on the West Side Highway on the west boundary be emblematic of the pioneer explorer, trapper and hunter who first opened the Northwest preceding the actual settlers by many years, this appeals to me as a very interesting suggestion and one which I will have Chief Landscape Architect Vint look into. I would appreciate it

if you would send him direct any further views and suggestions you may have in this regard. Of course, the entrance arches are provided for separately in the annual park appropriations and not out of the road funds. However, it is not too early to begin thinking about this gateway arch."

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE ORIGINAL LEWIS COUNTY

The people of the provisional government of Oregon claimed all the land in Old Oregon which extended from the Pacific Coast to the Rocky Mountains and from the forty-second parallel to fifty-four forty.

At a meeting held at Champoeg on July 5, 1843, the people adopted a law dividing Oregon into four districts, two of which embraced all of the future State of Washington. Twality District took in all of the land west of the Willamette River and a supposed line running north and south from that river and lying between fifty-four forty on the north and the Yamhill River on the south. Clackamas District embraced all the land east of that Willamette line to the Rocky Mountains, north of a line projected eastward from the mouth of the Anchiyoke River to the Rocky Mountains, and bounded on the north by the parallel fifty-four forty. This was the first subdivision of the land now known as the State of Washington.¹

On August 12, 1845 a bill was introduced in the legislative assembly to create two new counties north of the Columbia River and give one the name of Lewis and the other the name of Clark in honor of the famous explorers. The bill passed but with a rider attached substituting the name Vancouver in place of Lewis and Clark, and defining one district instead of two counties. Thus, Vancouver District was created to include "all that portion of the Territory of Oregon lying north of the middle of the main channel of the Columbia River."² At the next session of the assembly the eastern boundary was changed from the Rockies to the Columbia River.³

On December 18, 1845, Mr. Hill presented two bills; one to change the name of Vancouver District to that of Clark and the other providing for the creation of a new county to be called Lewis. The bill to change the name of Vancouver District was indefinitely postponed, but the bill creating Lewis County was passed a few days later.⁴ At this same session of the legislature, an act was passed changing the word "District" to "County."⁵ Thus, Lewis was the first real county created in what is now the State of Washington, and is often called the "Mother of Counties."

Lewis County, as originally created, included all that territory west of the Cowlitz River, between the Columbia River and fifty-

¹ *Laws of Oregon*, V. I, p. 26.

² Smith, C. W., *Naming of Counties in State of Washington*, p. 1.

³ Meany, E. S., *History of State of Washington*, p. 148.

⁴ Smith, C. W., *Naming of Counties in State of Washington*, p. 2.

⁵ *Laws of Oregon*, V. I, p. 35.

four forty.⁶ Since then, however, Lewis County has been subdivided several times and many new counties have grown from these subdivisions. It is the purpose of this paper to show when and how these new counties were created.

The treaty of 1846 between the United States and Great Britain caused the northern boundary of Lewis County to be changed from fifty-four forty to the forty-ninth parallel. The treaty provided that the boundary between the United States and Canada should be continued along the forty-ninth parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean."⁷ This was the first slice cut from the original Lewis County.

Pacific County

The member from the northern side of the Columbia River was absent from the Legislature and as Mr. McKean from Clatsop County, who was their councilman, was more interested in Clatsop than in Vancouver or Lewis County, the settlers of the latter counties felt themselves poorly represented. By means of lobbying they were able to have a county created out of the strip of country bordering on Shoalwater Bay and the estuary of the Columbia; and in 1851 the three counties north of the river were able to elect a councilman, Columbia Lancaster, and a representative, D. F. Brownfield, in whom they placed their trust as Americans.⁸

Pacific County was created by an act of the Territorial Government of Oregon on February 4, 1851, and was cut from the southwestern part of Lewis County. It was to include all that part of Oregon lying within the following boundaries: "Beginning at Cape Disappointment and running northerly along the Pacific Coast twenty-five miles, thence due east for thirty miles, thence due south to the Columbia River, thence down the middle of the channel of said river to the place of beginning."⁹ This was the first new county carved out of the original Lewis County. It was named "Pacific" on account of its Ocean boundary.

Thurston County

The movement for separation from Oregon also started a movement for the creation of new counties. The Cowlitz convention in addition to other business, recommended the creation of

⁶ *Laws of Oregon*, V. I, p. 43.

⁷ Meany, E. S., *History of State of Washington*, p. 136.

⁸ Bancroft, H.H., *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, p. 46.

⁹ *Laws of Oregon*, 1850-51, p. 38.

four new counties north of the Columbia River. A petition signed by fifty-six persons praying for the establishment of a new county, to be known as Simmons, was presented by Mr. Anderson and a bill to this effect was about to be passed when Mr. Michael T. Simmons, the man to be honored, protested and the county was named Thurston in honor of the first Delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory, who had just lost his life on the return trip to the Pacific Coast.¹⁰

Thurston County as created by the Territorial Government of Oregon on January 2, 1852, was to include all that part of Oregon Territory lying within the following described boundaries: "Beginning at the northwest corner of Pacific County, and running along the northern boundary line of said county, to the northeast corner thereof; thence continuing a due east course to the summit of the Cascade Range of Mountains; thence along the summit of said range, in a northerly direction to the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions; thence in a westerly direction along said boundary line to the Pacific Coast; thence in a southerly direction along the coast to the point of beginning."¹¹

Subdivisions of Eastern Thurston County

From the above description of Thurston County we see that it included not only the northern part of Lewis County but a large strip of land lying between Puget's Sound and the Cascade Mountains. This area was later divided into three new counties, namely, Pierce, King, and Island.¹² Island County was in turn subdivided into Whatcom, Skagit, Snohomish, and San Juan Counties. King County, as originally created, extended westward to the Pacific Ocean, and thus, took in part of the original Lewis County.¹³ The same session of the Legislature that created Pierce, King, and Island Counties also created a new county on the Olympic Peninsula and gave it the name of Jefferson.

Jefferson County

Jefferson County was created by the Territorial Government of Oregon on December 22, 1852. It was named in honor of Thomas Jefferson, who had taken much interest in this great Northwest. It was to embrace all that portion of Thurston County lying within the following boundaries: "Commencing at the middle of Admiralty Inlet at a point due east of Pilot Cove; thence due west to the Pacific Ocean; thence north along the coast to the northern

¹⁰ Smith, C. W., *Naming of Counties in State of Washington*, p. 3.
^{11, 12, 13, 14, and 15} *Laws of Oregon*, 1852.

boundary line of the United States; thence east along said boundary line to the northwest corner of Island County; thence south along the western boundary of Island County to the southwest corner of the same; thence east to the place of beginning.”¹⁴

Lewis County Boundary Moved Eastward to Cascades

In 1852 the same session of the Legislature that created Thurston County moved the eastern boundary of Lewis County to a point on the bank of the Columbia River fifteen miles east of the mouth of the Cowlitz, and running due north to the southern boundary of Thurston County.¹⁵ On February 1, 1853, the following act was passed: “The western boundary of Lewis County shall commence at the point on the Columbia River now established as the southeast corner of Pacific County; thence along the east line of Pacific County to its northeast corner; thence due north to the channel of the Chickees River; thence up channel of said river to the mouth of the Skookum Chuck River; thence eastward to the summit of the Cascade Mountains; thence along the summit to a point due east of Mount St. Helens; thence on a direct course to the east end of township line between townships Nos. 5 & 6; thence along said line to the Columbia River and down the Columbia to the place of beginning.”¹⁶ This was the law that placed the eastern boundary of Lewis County at the summit the the Cascade Mountains.

*Counties Created by the First Territorial Legislature
of Washington*

The first Territorial Legislature of Washington created seven new counties, five of which were within the boundaries of the original Lewis County. These new counties were Whatcom, Skamania, Sawamish, Chehalis, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, and Clallam.

Sawamish (Mason) County

Sawamish County was carved from Thurston County on March 13, 1854, and was named for a local tribe of Indians. The name of this county was changed on January 8, 1864, to Mason County, in honor of Charles H. Mason, the first Secretary of Washington Territory. Sawamish County as originally created was to include that part of Thurston County embraced within the following boundaries: “Commencing in the middle of the main channel of Puget’s Sound, opposite the mouth of Case’s Inlet; thence westerly along the main channel to the point of land between Eld’s Inlet and

16 *Laws of Oregon*, 1853, February 1.

Totten's Inlet; thence westerly, following the dividing ridge between said inlet to the summit of the Coast Range of mountains; thence due west to the Pacific Coast; thence northerly along said coast for thirty miles; thence due east to the middle of the main channel of Hood's Canal; thence along the middle of said channel to Wilke's Portage; thence easterly to the head of Case's Inlet; thence down the middle of the main channel to the place of beginning.”¹⁷

Chehalis (Grays Harbor) County

Chehalis County was cut from Thurston County by the first session of the Territorial Government of Washington. The date of creation was April 14, 1854. The name is that of an Indian river and tribe. The word Chehalis means “sand,” having reference presumably to the sand bars at the mouth of the River Chehalis.¹⁸ The name has recently been changed to Grays Harbor County. Chehalis County was to include all that portion of Thurston County embraced within the following boundaries: “Commencing at the northwest corner of Pacific County, on Shoalwater Bay; thence due east to a point due south of a point on the Chehalis River six miles above Armstrong's Mills; thence north to the line of Sawamish County; thence west along said line of Sawamish County to the Pacific Ocean; thence south along the coast of the Pacific Ocean and Shoalwater Bay, to the place of beginning.”¹⁹

Cowlitz County

Cowlitz County was set off from southeastern Lewis County and northern Clark. It was created on April 21, 1854. The county was named after a local Indian tribe. Its boundaries were to be as follows: “Beginning at the southeast corner of Pacific County, on the Columbia River, thence up said river to the south bank of the Kalama; thence east to the first range line east of the meridian; thence north along said line to the east fork of the Cowlitz River; thence westerly, following the east fork of said river to the point where it intersects with the west fork; thence due west to the dividing ridge dividing the waters of the Chehalis and Columbia Rivers; thence along said ridge to the western line of Pacific County; thence to the place of beginning, on the line of Pacific County at the Columbia River.”²⁰

17 *Laws of Washington*, 1854, p. 474.

18 Smith, C. W., *Naming of Counties in State of Washington*, p. 6.

19 *Laws of Washington*, 1854, p. 472.

20 *Laws of Washington*, p. 471.

Wahkiakum County

Wahkiakum County was created on April 24, 1854, from the eastern portion of Pacific and the western part of Cowlitz Counties. It is an Indian name taken from the name of a tribe. It was enacted by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Washington, "That all that portion of Washington Territory contained within the following boundaries, namely: Beginning at a point in the southern boundary line between said Territory and the Oregon Territory due south from the southwest corner of the claim of Alexander S. Abernethy, and running thence due north to the southern boundary of Lewis County; thence westerly along said line to the eastern boundary line of Pacific County; thence south to the southern boundary line of Washington Territory, and thence easterly along said southern boundary line to the place of beginning, be organized into a county, to be known and called Wahkiakum County, and possess all the rights and privileges of the other counties of this Territory."²¹

Clallam County

Clallam County, created also by the first Territorial Legislature, was named for a local tribe of Indians. The word is said by the Clallam Indians to mean "strong" or "strong people." The county was created on April 26, 1854, and was a subdivision of Jefferson County. The southern boundary of Jefferson County was in turn moved southward and included most of that portion of King County lying west of Puget's Sound. Clallam County was to include all that portion of Jefferson County embraced within the following boundaries: "Commencing on the south side of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, at a point in line as near as may be between Port Townsend and Port Discovery, so as to divide the peninsula between said places as nearly equally as possible; thence following said range northwesterly to the sea coast; thence following up the sea coast northerly to Cape Flattery, and to the Straits of Juan de Fuca; thence easterly, along the coast to the place of beginning."²²

Slaughter (Kitsap) County

What is now Kitsap County was created as Slaughter County by an act approved January 16, 1857. It was named in honor of

²¹ *Laws of Washington*, p. 474.

²² *Laws of Washington*, p. 472.

²³ Smith, C. W., *Naming of Counties in Washington*, p. 7.

²⁴ *Laws of Washington*, 1856-7, p. 52.

white men's homes. On January 9, 1857, petitions from the people of King and Jefferson Counties, asking to be set off into a separate county to be called Madison, were presented to the House of Representatives. In the hands of the committee on counties the name Kitsap was substituted for Madison. On the 13th day of January the house inserted the name of Slaughter in place of Kitsap and the bill became a law. Many protests, however, were made to the name and a supplementary act was passed giving the citizens the privilege of choosing a name. Kitsap was the name of a friendly Indian chief and that was the name adopted by the people.²³ Slaughter or Kitsap County was to include all that portion of the counties of King and Jefferson embraced within the following boundaries: "Commencing at a point in the main channel of Colvo's Passage, and running west, following the old boundary line of King to the head of Case's Inlet; thence westerly along said line to the head of Hood's Canal; thence following the main channel of said canal to junction with Admiralty Inlet; thence following the main ship channel of said inlet to its junction with Colvo's Passage; thence following the main channel of said passage to the point of beginning."²⁴

San Juan County

The Treaty of 1846 with Great Britain defined the boundary line between the United States and Vancouver's Island as the "Middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island," but did not specify which channel. The Americans contended that the treaty meant the Canal De Haro, and the British claimed that it was the Rosario Straits. William I, the Emperor of Germany, was selected as arbitrator and on October 21, 1872, he declared the San Juan Islands to be the property of the United States.²⁵ On October 31, of the following year, the legislative assembly of the Territory of Washington passed the following act: "All the islands forming the De Haro Archipelago, and hitherto known as the disputed islands and which are at present included within Whatcom County, be and the same are hereby organized and established as a county, to be known as San Juan County, and shall be bounded as follows: Commencing in the Gulf of George at the place where the boundary line between the United Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter, who gave his life in defense of the States and the British possessions deflects from the 49th parallel of north latitude, thence following said boundary line through the

25 Meany, E. S., *History of State of Washington*, p. 253.

Gulf of Georgia and the Canal De Haro to the middle of the Straits of Fuca, thence easterly through Fuca Straits until opposite the middle of Rosario Straits and through the Gulf of Georgia to the place of beginning.”²⁶

Summary

Thus, we see that a total of ten new counties have been created from the vast territory that was originally Lewis County. Three of these counties, Pacific, Thurston and Jefferson, were created by the Territorial Government of Oregon. The other seven, Mason, Grays Harbor, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, Clallam, Kitsap, and San Juan, were created by the Washington Territorial Government. Three were named after persons, four were given Indian names, and the other three were named for geographic features.

FRANK A. GARBE.

26 *Laws of Washington*, 1873, p. 461.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 1846 TO THE PACIFIC COAST

The year 1846 was a year of utmost significance for the Pacific Coast—for at the beginning of that year the coast from 54°-40 to 26°, at least, was in the balance, and war seemed imminent with one nation and a certainty with another, before the fate of this western coast would be determined. The Oregon country, as we know, comprising the territory between 42° North Latitude and 54°-40' North, the southern boundary of Russian possessions, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, was held by United States and Great Britain under the Joint Occupancy Treaty of 1818, renewed in 1827 for an indefinite period, but subject to termination by either country on a year's notice. South of that territory lay the Mexican provinces of the Californias, in which conditions were very much disturbed. The fate of this whole stretch of coast with its hinterland lay in the hands of the administration of James K. Polk and the Congress of the United States, of the British Ministry, and the transitory governments of the Republic of Mexico. To understand, then, the significance of the year 1846 to the Pacific Coast it is necessary to find out the policy of each of the above in regard to it, and to what extent the policy of each was carried out in this year. Naturally the policy of the United States—due to its being the most powerful of the three on this continent, and to its geographical position—would determine to a great extent, at least, the course of events.

It is well known that the Democratic Platform of 1844, drawn up at the Convention at Baltimore and on which Polk was elected President, ended with the resolution: "Resolved, that our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."¹

In conformity with this platform the President in his inaugural address,² March 4, 1845, said: "I shall on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our Constitution and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy endeavor by all constitu-

¹ *National Party Platforms*, compiled by Kirk H. Porter.

² Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IV, p. 381.

tional, honorable and appropriate means to consummate the expressed will of the people and government of the United States by the 're-annexation of Texas' to our Union 'at the earliest practicable period.' Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain by all constitutional means the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of Oregon is 'clear and unquestionable' and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. . . . To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately wherever they may be upon our soil. The jurisdiction of our laws and the benefits of our republican institutions should be extended over them in the distant regions which they have selected for their homes. . . . In the meantime every obligation imposed by treaty or conventional stipulation should be sacredly respected."

Senator Thomas H. Benton says the return voice from London was equally positive on the other side and the inevitability of war became the immediate cry.³ While in this country "54°-40 or fight" became the cry of those who supported the President's pronouncements. In August of 1845 the President said to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, "Let the argument of our title to the whole of the country be full, let the proposition to compromise at the latitude of 49° be withdrawn, and there let matters rest, unless the British minister chooses to continue negotiations."⁴ The President objected to Mr. Buchanan's suggestion that a paragraph be inserted in the reply to the British Minister to the effect that any further proposition which the British Ministry might make should be deliberately considered by the United States on the grounds that our proposal for 49° had been rejected flatly by the British Minister, Mr. Richard Pakenham, without even referring it to Her Majesty's Government, and that the British Minister had said "in substance" that the "British Government will not even consider your proposition and you must make another more consistent with fairness and equity." The offer referred to had been made by the Secretary of State on July 12, 1845, when he had offered the line of 49° as the boundary between the two countries, but without free navigation of the Columbia River. This, as stated, was rejected. The "inevitable and irresistible inference" of the British Government, if Buchanan's suggestions were followed, the president claimed, would be that "we

³ Benton, *Thirty Years View*, Vol. II, p. 650.

⁴ *Diary of James K. Polk, 1845-1849*. Edited and annotated by Milton Quaife, 26th August, 1845.

are prepared to accept terms less favorable to the United States than 49°, for it cannot be expected under such invitation terms less favor[able] to Great Britain than 49° which she has already [rejected] will be proposed by her."⁵ Any proposition less favorable than 49° the President said he would promptly reject; that if the British Minister chose to close negotiations he could, if he chose to make a proposal he could do it as well without this country's invitation as with it, and he continued: "the United States will stand in the right in the eyes of the world and if war was the consequence, England would be in the wrong." The Secretary was strongly of the opinion that the carrying out of the President's views would bring war, and he thought the People of the United States would not be willing to sustain war for the country north of 49°; that in view of our difficulties with Mexico the reply ought to be postponed until we could know whether we would have actual war with that country or not. The President "saw no necessary connection between the two questions," that the settling of one was not dependent on the other that "we should do our duty towards both Mexico and Great Britain and firmly maintain our rights and leave the rest to God and the Country." Mr. Buchanan said he thought God would not have much to do in justifying us in a war for the Country north of 49°. In spite of Buchanan's protest the reply was delivered to the Secretary of the British Legation on August 30, after which Mr. Buchanan said: "Well, the deed is done," but he did not think it the part of wise statesmanship to deliver such a paper in the existing state of our relations with Mexico.⁶ A dispatch under date of October 3d from Mr. Lane, United States Minister at London, gave an account of his interview with Lord Aberdeen, at the Foreign Office, regarding the Oregon Question in which Lord Aberdeen expressed his regrets that Mr. Pakenham had rejected the American proposal of compromise, condemned his course and intimated a willingness on the part of the British government to agree to a modified proposition, and desired to be informed whether the President would negotiate further on the subject after withdrawing the American Proposition.⁷

The President did not agree with Mr. Buchanan that any intimation should be given to Mr. Pakenham of the views or intentions of the administration, but that he should be left "to take his own course," that if the "same proposition (49°) were now made

5 *Diary*, 26th August, 1845.

6 *Diary*, 30 August, 1845, p. 12 (Vol. I)

7 *Diary*, 21 October, 1845, (Vol. I).

by the British Minister he would not accept it and was sure the Minister would not make any that he could accept; that when his proposition was received (if he made one) he would either reject it, or submit it to the Senate for their advice before he acted on [it] according to its character." Notice that the President had said that he would not accept anything less than 49°; that, now, he would not accept that if proposed by the British Minister, but, that if such a proposition were made, what his course of action would be—this was all in 1845—but paves the way for the results of this stand in the next year.

The President also stated to his Secretary at this time that in his first message to Congress he "would maintain our rights, take a bold and strong ground, and re-affirm Mr. Monroe's ground against permitting any European power to plant or establish any new colony in the North American Continent." Three days later he repeated the statement of his attitude on the boundary to Senator Benton and they agreed to the following: 1. Twelve months' notice of abrogation of the Treaty of 1827; 2. Our laws and jurisdiction should be extended over our citizens of Oregon to the same extent that British laws had been extended over British subjects by the act of Parliament of 1821; 3. Block houses or stockade-forts should be erected on the route from the United States to Oregon and that two or three regiments of mounted riflemen should be raised for the protection of emigrants on the route to Oregon; 4. Our Indian policy should be extended to Oregon. All this was to be done without violating the Covenant of 1827, and without giving Great Britain just cause of offense. He told Colonel Benton also of his intention of "re-affirming the Monroe Doctrine . . . as far as this continent was concerned." Colonel Benton stated to the President that Great Britain possessed the same kind of title to the Fraser River by discovery, exploration and settlement that the United States did to the Columbia River. Polk's reply included: "Great Britain had her eye on California and intended to possess the country if she could, but that the people of the United States would not willingly permit California to be colonized by Great Britain or any foreign monarchy and that in re-asserting Mr. Monroe's Doctrine I had California and the fine bay of San Francisco as much in view as Oregon." Thus in October, 1845, the President announced his policy regarding the Pacific Coast from 54°-40' down through California. The year 1846 was to determine to what extent he could carry out his program.

Buchanan throughout November maintained his stand on 49° and his fear that the President's bold attitude would result in war.

In his first annual message,⁸ December 2, 1845, the President reviewed the three unsuccessful attempts made by the United States to settle the Oregon question on the principle of Compromise: the parallel of 49° having been offered by the United States; the parallel of 49° from the Rocky Mountains to its intersection with the north branch of the Columbia and from thence down the channel of the river to the sea having been offered by Great Britain with the addition of small detached territory north of the Columbia, to which was added by the British plenipotentiary's offer on August 26, 1844, free navigation of the river by both countries, and freedom of ports south of latitude 49°. He then explained his offer of 49° already referred to "as made in deference to what had been done by my predecessors," and especially in consideration of the fact that propositions of compromise had thrice been made by two preceding administrations to adjust on the 49° parallel, and that pending negotiations had been commenced on the basis of compromise, although he entertained "the settled conviction that British pretensions of title could not be maintained to any portion of the Oregon Territory upon any principle of public law recognized by nations." He continued: "The rejection of the offer and the extraordinary and wholly inadmissible demands of the British government afford satisfactory evidence that no compromise which United States ought to accept can be effected." It was on these grounds, he stated, that the proposition of compromise was withdrawn, and "our title to the whole of Oregon Territory asserted, and, as is believed, maintained by irrefragable facts and arguments."

He then proposed to give the year's notice referred to and recommended that provisions be made by law for giving it. He recommended to Congress the several things upon which he and Benton had agreed earlier, and added for the consideration of Congress an overland mail once a month to the Territory. According to his previously announced purpose, he re-stated the Monroe Doctrine,⁹ being the first of our Presidents to do so. In regard to a balance of power on this continent to check our advance, he stated: "The United States, sincerely desirous of preserving relations of understanding with all nations, cannot in silence permit any European influences on North American continent and should any such interference be attempted will be ready to resist it at any and all

⁸ Richardson, Vol. IV, pp. 385-416.

⁹ Richardson, Vol. IV, pp. 385-416.

hazards. . . . The people of the United States cannot, therefore, view with indifference the attempts of European powers to interfere with the independent action of nations on this continent. . . . We must ever maintain the principle that the people of this continent alone have the right to decide their own destiny. Should any portion, thus constituted as an independent state, propose to unite themselves with our Confederacy, that will be a question for them and us to determine without any foreign interposition. . . . It was a quarter of a century ago that this principle was distinctly announced to the world in the annual message of one of my predecessors: 'The American continents by free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained are hence forth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers'. . . . In existing circumstances of the work, the present is deemed the proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle announced by Mr. Monroe and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom, and sound policy. . . . And that it is distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or domination shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."

As before stated by the President he had California as much in mind here as Oregon; and certainly he had Texas. The English were making encroachments, also, on the Mosquito coast, but I do not find anything that would suggest that this was in his mind at this time, although Buchanan later made pointed declarations respecting the paramount interest of the United States in the Isthmus of Panama, which tended to broaden the application of the Monroe Doctrine.¹⁰

The President's proposition to deliver the Notice to abrogate the Joint Occupancy Treaty brought out a full expression of opinions of Congress upon the whole question and took the management of the question into the hands of the Senate and House of Representatives.¹¹ The extreme party was against 49° and intended to force the President to repulse the British offer of 49° if it now should be made. Of these "54°-40's," Benton said: "The notion of the '54-40's' is—That we go jam up to 54°-40' and Russia comes jam down to the same, leaving no place for the British lion to put down his paw, although that paw should be no bigger than the sole of the dove's foot which sought a resting place from Noah's ark. . . . This must seem a little strange to British statesmen who do

10 Foster, F. W., *A Century of Diplomacy*, p. 324.

11 Benton, *Thirty Year's View*, Vol. II, p. 662.

not grow so fast as to leave all knowledge behind them." Warm speeches were made in Congress during the early months of 1846.

The leaders of the "54°-40's" were Cass of Michigan and Allen of Ohio who was Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Benton, to whom, Senator Reverdy Johnson said, the whole question "is as familiar as a household term,"¹² and who said of himself: "I have been fighting the battle of Oregon for thirty years and when it had but few friends, though now entirely eclipsed by new converts."¹³ Benton led those who stood for 49°. Senator Calhoun was on this side of the question and, as already stated, this was the Secretary of State's position at this time.

In a dispatch which was sent to Mr. McLane, United States Minister at London, the President directed this paragraph to be inserted:¹⁴ "Should that Government (Great Britain) take any further step with a view to settle the Controversy, the President would judge of the character of any new proposition when made and if in his opinion it was such as to justify it would feel inclined to submit it to the Senate for their previous advice before he would take any action upon it. As the determination on any new proposition which might be made might involve the question of peace or war between the two countries, he would feel it to be his duty to consult his constitutional advisers before final decision." The Cabinet agreed with the President that if Great Britain should make any proposition for arbitration it should be rejected. This proposition was made in a dispatch presented to Mr. Polk on December 27, 1845, and was rejected, and the reply to Mr. Pakenham was transmitted to the British Government on the third of January.

In a conversation between Mr. Pakenham and Mr. Buchanan, and also, from information communicated by Mr. McLane, it appeared that Sir Robert Peel (Prime Minister) and Lord Aberdeen would be adverse to going to war.¹⁵ A second proposal to arbitrate the Oregon question was made by Mr. Pakenham, 16th January, 1846, which was also rejected. Polk's *Diary* makes references to correspondence between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. McLane which related to military and naval preparations in England, including an official conversation between Mr. McLane and Lord Aberdeen as to the object of these preparations. Polk was assured by McLane they began before the existence of difficulties between the two countries had assumed the present serious aspect and had no connection

12 *Ibid.*, p. 666.

13 Benton, *Speeches in the Senate of the United States*, May 22, 25, 28, 1846.

14 *Diary*, 13th December, 1845 (Vol. I.)

15 *Ibid.*, 3rd January, 1846 (Vol. I.)

with the Oregon question.¹⁶ Polk wrote in his *Diary* (4th March, 1846) that due to the feverish excitement of members of the Senate on the question of the Notice, that the Democrats had split into factions and that he was left without any certain or reliable support in Congress and especially in the Senate. He also wrote: "I am fortunately no candidate for re-election and will appeal to the people for support. If the Notice is defeated it will be war between the factions." A curious change of position was that of Mr. Buchanan at this time who, the President says, "manifested a disposition to be warlike."¹⁷

It was at this time that Mexican affairs reached out to the Pacific Coast. The government of General Paredes being overthrown by that of Herrera—a military government which needed money, Polk's idea was that if our Minister could be authorized upon signing a treaty to pay down a half million or a million of dollars to furnish money for the Mexican army and to maintain the government in power until the treaty could be ratified, that this might induce the President to make a treaty which he would otherwise not venture to make. The object of this move would be to adjust the boundary so as to secure the cession of Latitude 32° from El Paso on the Del Norte and west to the Pacific Ocean, or if that precise boundary could not be obtained the next best which might be practicable, so as at all events to include all the country east of Del Norte and Bay of San Francisco and he desired that Congress appropriate a certain sum of money for the purpose. Polk consulted Benton and Calhoun on the subject, who, especially the latter, seemed to agree with him. Calhoun thought the matter of appropriation should not be made public "as it would embarrass the settlement of the Oregon question."¹⁸ The matter of the appropriation was left in the hands of the Senators with whom the President talked.¹⁹ Benton's advice in regard to the Oregon question was, when a proposition should be made, to refer it to the Senate. Polk regretted the delay in Congress in giving the Notice, as he felt Great Britain would not make any proposition until Congress passed it; and hence there could be no prospect of settlement until that time. He also regretted that Great Britain had been able to keep so closely in touch with the debate in Congress which revealed our hand, while

¹⁶ Senate Documents—489, 29th Congress, First Session. (Executive proceedings, correspondence and documents relating to Oregon from which the injunction of secrecy has been removed). Mr. Buchanan to Mr. McLane, 1 Dec., 1845, p. 36.

¹⁷ *Diary*, March 22, 1846.

¹⁸ *Diary*, 30th March, 1846, Vol. I, p. 311.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31 March.

she kept hers concealed.²⁰ In his frequent discussions with Senator Benton regarding both the Oregon question and the Mexican situation, the subject frequently was what steps would be proper to take if the principal powers of Europe should attempt to force a foreign prince on the throne of Mexico. A dispatch to Polk from McLane (Jan. 17, 1846) stated: "It need not surprise you to discover at no distant day that the favorite scheme with leading powers of Europe is to compose the Mexican trouble by giving her a monarchical form of government, and supplying the monarch from one of her own families."²¹

Slidell added weight to this. After Slidell's return from his unsuccessful mission to Mexico, the President felt there was "no alternative but strong measures toward Mexico."²² Polk had reason to believe the British Minister in Mexico exerted his influence to prevent Slidell's being received by the Government. Calhoun's advice was not to send a message on Mexican affairs to Congress until the Oregon question was settled. The President thought that whatever the settlement in the Oregon question, it was his duty "to lay the Mexican question before Congress with his opinions on the subject in time for them to act at that session." McLane's dispatch stated his opinion that there would be no steps by the British Government until the Senate had decided on the question of the Notice.²³ He wrote in his *Diary*: "The speeches of Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun and others in the Senate advocating peace and the British title to a large portion of the country have made the British Government and people more arrogant in tone and more grasping in their demands. If war should be the result, these peace gentlemen and advocates of British pretensions over those of their own country will have done more to produce it than any others."

The Joint Resolution introduced in the House on January 5, 1846, was finally passed on April 23, by a vote of 42 to 10, in the Senate; the House, 142 to 46, and authorized the President "in his discretion" to give the British government Notice to abrogate the Convention of 6th August, 1827, concerning Oregon Territory. The resolution was dispatched to Mr. McLane on May first, and in the dispatch it was stated to Mr. McLane that any further proposal to adjust the Oregon question must proceed from Great Britain.²⁴ And at the same time the President again announced his decision to

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Cleland, Robert Glose, *The Early Sentiment for Annexation in California* (Thesis), quoting McLane to Polk (Polk MSS) p. 91.

²² *Diary*, 18th April, 1846 (Vol. 1.)

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

²⁴ *Diary*, 27th April, 1846.

take a bold and firm course with Mexico. There surely does not seem to be any wavering in the President's policy regarding either Mexican or English affairs in this two-fold, simultaneous movement.

News of the broken off negotiations were received with regret in Great Britain. "Sir Robert Peel with frankness and integrity which constitute the patriotic statesman, openly expressed his regret in Parliament that the offer of 49° when made by the American government had not been accepted by the British Government and it was evident that negotiations would be renewed," so Benton tells us.²⁵ Benton, who was averse to war with Mexico, advised Polk to delay movement in Mexican affairs until the English question were either settled or brought to a crisis. The President while "anxious to avoid war, if it could be done honorably and consistently with the interests of our injured citizens," was determined to bring the subject before Congress in its present session.²⁶

The President at this time desired that the Bill of the House to extend our laws and jurisdiction over our citizens in Oregon should be taken up speedily and acted on by the Senate. Senator Benton was asked to take charge of the Bill. His reply was that he would go as far as 49°. The President stated again that his views, as he expressed them in his December 2nd message, were unchanged. At the Cabinet Meeting on May 9th it was agreed that if the Mexican forces at Matamoras committed any act of hostility on General Taylor's forces, the President should immediately issue a declaration of war.²⁷ On the same day dispatches from General Taylor stated that part of the Mexican army had crossed the Del Norte and attacked and killed and captured two companies of dragoons of General Taylor's army, and at twelve o'clock on May 11, the well-known message declaring war on Mexico was sent to Congress.²⁸ The President asked Congress to act promptly in recognizing the existence of war and to place at his disposal the means of prosecuting it with vigor. The House passed the bill carrying out the recommendations of the President by a vote of 173 to 14. The Senate adjourned after a debate without coming to a decision. Benton in regard to the Senate's action told the President that in the 19th Century war should not be declared without a full discussion and much more consideration than had been given it in the House which had passed the Bill in two hours declaring war, and that one and a half hours had been occupied in reading documents accom-

25 *Thirty Years View*, Vol. II, p. 674.

26 *Diary*, 25th April, 1846.

27 *Diary*, 9th May 1846, Vol. I.

28 Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 442-443.

panying the President's message. On the 12th of May the Senate passed the Bill 42 to 2 with some amendments in which the House concurred and it was signed by the President on May 13th.²⁹ The President's proclamation was issued at once.³⁰

On the same day orders were issued to Colonel Kearney to proceed with his dragoons to protect caravans of traders who, it was understood, had recently left Missouri for Sante Fe.

In the dispatch prepared by Buchanan to be sent to the United States Ministers at London, Paris and other foreign courts, the declaration of war was announced with statements of causes and objects of the war. Among other things the Secretary had stated that our object was not to dismember Mexico nor to make any conquests and that the Del Norte was the boundary to which we claimed, or rather that in going to war we did not do so with a view to acquiring either California or New Mexico, or any other portion of Mexican territory. The President told Mr. Buchanan such a declaration to foreign governments was unnecessary and improper; that the causes of the war had been set forth to Congress. "I told him that we had not gone to war for conquest, yet it was clear that in making peace we would if procurable obtain California and such other portions of Mexican territory as would be sufficient to indemnify our claims on Mexico, and to defray expenses of war, . . . that it was well known the Mexican government had no other means of indemnifying us."³¹ Here we have the President's policy regarding California definitely stated. Mr. Buchanan's opinion was that, if we could give Lord Ashburton, (should he ask Mr. McLane for it at the time announcement was made of existence of war) no statement regarding our intentions to acquire California or any part of Mexican territory, it would be almost certain that both England and France would join with Mexico in a war against us. Polk considered the war with Mexico an affair with which no other country had any concern and that such an inquiry would be an insult to our government, and that he "would not answer it, even if the consequences should be war with all of them," nor would he tie his hands in any way as to what terms of peace would be made. Before he would make such a pledge, "I would meet in war with England or France or all Powers of Christendom, . . . and that I would stand and fight until the last man among us fell in the conflict," that neither as a citizen nor as President would he permit nor tolerate any intermeddling of

29 *Diary*, 13th May, 1846, Vol. I.

30 Richardson, Vol. IV, p. 470.

31 *Diary*, 13th May, 1846, Vol. I.

any European powers on this continent, and that sooner than pledge himself that we would not, if we could, fairly and honorably, acquire California, or any other part of Mexican territory, which we desired, "I would let war with England come and take the whole responsibility." The significance of this stand of the President for the future of California admits of no misunderstanding and his stand on the question of the Monroe Doctrine is also equally clear, and how he applied it to this situation. The dispatches to the ministers abroad were revised and written according to the President's instructions.³² On the 29th of May at the meeting of the Cabinet, when expressing his views regarding the ordering of an expedition to California in case war was protracted for any length of time, the President stated: "It would be very important that the United States should hold military possession of California at the time peace was made, and I declared my purpose to be to acquire for the United States, California, New Mexico, and perhaps some other of the Northern Provinces of Mexico whenever peace was made."³³

In the secret instructions to Mr. Slidell the autumn before these objects had been included. One is impressed by the steady progress the President made in the announcement of his determination to acquire California, as well as the other Mexican provinces, which he had in mind at least as early as the year before. The crisis in the affairs of the United States with both England and Mexico regarding the Pacific Coast came at practically the same time—May, 1846, The Notice having been sent May first, the declaration war, and notice of its existence to foreign governments within the next few weeks—all before the end of May of this year. War with Mexico was being waged; war with England, it was believed by many in the United States, was imminent. Certainly a good opportunity was offered England to take advantage of existing conditions in effecting a settlement of the Oregon controversy in her favor. The statements of the President are convincing that California and other Mexican provinces were the prizes he sought as a result of the Mexican war and for which he was willing to go to the utmost lengths.

The expedition of Colonel Kearney to New Mexico was to culminate in the taking of Sante Fé; after which he was to proceed to California, leaving Sante Fé in charge of his Lieutenant-colonel. The President's proposition was favorably acted upon by the Cabinet and orders according thereto were sent to Colonel Kearney. It was agreed, also, that Colonel Kearney should be authorized to take

32 *Diary*, 13th May, p. 398.

33 *Ibid.* 30th May.

into his service any emigrants (American citizens) he might find in California or who might go out there. He was, also, "authorized to take into his service a few hundred Mormons now on their way to California with a view to conciliate them, attach them to our country, and prevent them from taking part against us."³⁴ The number of Mormons was afterwards stated to be about 500 or not more than one-fourth of Kearney's whole force.³⁵

On the third of June a dispatch from Mr. McLane, dated May tenth, was received which communicated in substance the proposition he had learned from Lord Aberdeen would be made by the British Government through their Minister at Washington for settlement of the Oregon question. Regarding the contents of this message the President wrote: "If Mr. McLane is right in the character of the proposition, I am certain I cannot accept it, and it is a matter of doubt if it be such as I ought to submit to the Senate for their previous advice before acting upon it. If I reject it absolutely and make no other proposition, the probable result will be war. If I submit it to the Senate and they should advise its acceptance, I should be bound by their advice and yet I should do so reluctantly."³⁶

The proposition of the British Government for the settlement of the Oregon question was submitted to the President by Mr. Buchanan on 6th June, having been just delivered to Mr. Pakenham. The proposition which was in favor of a convention was read and, also, the protocol of the conference which had taken place on the delivery of the proposition. Polk asked the advice of his Cabinet regarding the action he should take: reject, or submit it to the Senate for their previous advice. There was a division in opinion. Polk says that the Cabinet "was much excited," that he was "anxious to prevent excitement or division in the Cabinet."³⁷ All agreed that if the proposition were rejected without submitting it to the Senate that in the present position of the question, "I could offer no modification of it, or any other proposition, and that in such case war was almost inevitable." The President stated that in case it were sent to the Senate, "he would reiterate his opinions of December second, accompanying it with the distinct statement that if the Senate advised acceptance with or without modifications, I should conform to their advice; but, if they declined to express an opinion or by the constitutional majority to give advice, I should reject the proposition. The vice-president approved of sending the proposi-

34 *Diary*, p. 439.

35 *Ibid*, 5th June, 1846 (Vol. I).

36 *Ibid*, p. 445.

37 *Diary*, 6th June, p. 453.

tion to the Senate; Cass thought the President was bound to do so, "although he would be compelled to vote against me to accept the proposition;" Allen advised rejection without consulting the Senate.³⁸

The Cabinet finally agreed the message should be sent to the Senate; and it was submitted on June 10th. In his message³⁹ the President referred to the "practice of Washington in consulting the Senate branch of the treaty making power," whereby "the President secured harmony of action between that body and himself, . . . the Senate, moreover, was a branch of the war making power and it may be eminently proper for the Executive to take opinions and advice of that body in advance upon any great question which may involve in its decision the issue of peace and war, . . . that desire is increased by recent debates and proceedings in Congress which render it, in my judgment, not only respectful to the Senate, but necessary and proper, if not indispensable to insure harmonious action between that body and the Executive."

The Senate passed the resolution advising the President to accept the proposal of the British Government on June 12, by a vote of 38 to 12.⁴⁰ On the action of that body Senator Benton said: "It was clear that the fact of Treaty or no Treaty depended upon the Senate; the whole responsibility was placed upon it—the issue of peace or war depended upon that body. Far from shunning this responsibility that body was glad to take it, and gave the President faithful support against himself, his Cabinet, and his peculiar friends."⁴¹

On June 15th, Buchanan and Pakenham concluded and signed the Covenant for the Settlement of the Oregon question, "being the same submitted by letter, 6th June."⁴² Allen resigned his place as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of Senate. (Senator McDuffie was later elected Chairman.) The Senate, June 18, ratified the Convention by a vote of 41 to 14.

The great fear of the Americans in Oregon, as well as of the country generally had been that England would not be willing to give up any of the territory north of the Columbia River on which she had insisted for three decades. Joseph Schafer says: It is certain that Canning's attitude (1824), which was the policy of the Government from that time on, "would infallibly have brought on

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 462.

³⁹ Miscellaneous Pamphlets Vol. IV. Senate Document 489, 29th Congress, 1st session, etc., p. 1; Richardson, Vol. IV, p. 448.

⁴⁰ Diary, 12 June, Vol. I, p. 467.

⁴¹ *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. II, pp. 675-676.

⁴² Diary, 15th June, 1846, Vol. I, p. 468.

war with the United States had not such calamity been averted by the more temperate statesmanship of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen."⁴³ Edward Everett, Minister at London, when Peel's administration began and who remained there till the summer of 1845, expressed in a series of dispatches during that time his conviction that the British Government was disposed to a friendly settlement of the Oregon question on reasonable terms. Everett's idea of what would be reasonable is almost exactly expressed by the treaty as finally concluded.⁴⁴ It is now known that the British Government did send a secret military expedition to Oregon under Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour in 1845-1846 for the purpose of giving a report on the conditions of the country, "to examine and report on all existing British posts then available for defensive purposes or the means of making them available, also to examine as an engineering expert (Vavasour) all the places Sir George Simpson might point out as naturally suited to the erection of defenses for the whole country."⁴⁵ The reports of these men were such as to make the defense of the country look at least exceedingly difficult. The interest of both countries in their new policy of free trade which, if persisted in, would cement their destinies, stimulated the friendly feeling of Aberdeen and Peel for the United States.⁴⁶ It was further the well known attitude of England, moreover, at this period to be averse to Colonial enterprises.⁴⁷ Dr. William Fraser Tolmie in a letter written in 1884, which was the response to the invitation of the President of the Oregon Pioneer Association, Hon. James Nesmith, to contribute a paper to their proceedings, makes this statement: "It must be remembered that between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom had besides several fighting and other troubles in various parts of the world, great embarrassment in regard to Canada which during 1837-1838 was in a state of open rebellion."⁴⁸ He then asks this question: "What seems more natural in such a case than that apathy as to further acquisitions of territory in North America should have prevailed in British councils?"

Hence, in spite of considerable opposition in the British Parliament, Lord Aberdeen instructed Pakenham to present a project of a treaty which was concluded in the exact form in which the pro-

43 "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question 1815-1846." (Reprinted from the American Historical Review, Vol. XVI. No. 2, Jan., 1911) p. 392, also, Benton, Speeches on Oregon Question in United States Senate, May 22, 25, 28, 1846.

44 Fish, "American Diplomacy," pp. 270-271.

45 "Documents Relative to the Warre and Vavasour Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-46" edited by Joseph Schafer (*Quarterly Oregon Historical Association*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1909).

46 Fish, *American Diplomacy*, p. 270.

47 *Twelfth Annual Reunion of Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1884, p. 29; also, Muir, *Short History British Commonwealth*, Vol. II, pp. 420-421; Adams, E. D., p. 240.

48 "Twelfth Annual Re-union of Oregon Pioneer Association," 1884, p. 29.

posal came from Aberdeen's hand (Schafer: "*British Attitude Oregon Question*"—p. 299) and was in substance pretty much what the United States had previously offered Great Britain. It was, moreover, McLane's opinion that this offer of the boundary settlement "is not submitted as an ultimatum and is not intended as such, though I have reason to know that Mr. Pakenham will not be authorized to accept or reject any modifications that may be proposed on our part, but that he will in such case be instructed to refer the modifications to his government."⁴⁹ The terms of the "Treaty Establishing the Boundary West of the Rocky Mountains," or the "Oregon Treaty" are in the nature of "amicable compromise," and are stated in five articles: Article I, Establishing the boundary continuing along the 49th parallel from the Rocky Mountains westward to the middle of the channel which separates the Continent from Vancouver's Island and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of Fuca's straits to the Pacific Ocean; and providing that navigation of the whole of said Channel and Straits south of 49° remain free and open to both parties; Article II, Provides that the navigation of the Columbia River should be free and open to Hudson's Bay Company and to all British subjects trading with the same, but that the Government of the United States should make any regulations respecting navigation of said river or rivers, consistent with the Treaty; Article III, Protected the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and all British subjects who may be already in occupation of the land or other property lawfully acquired; Article IV, Confirmed the farms, lands and other property belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company on the north side of the Columbia River to said Company, but allowed the United States Government to obtain possession of the whole or any part of such lands in case of public or political importance at a proper valuation agreed upon between the parties, Article V Provided for the ratification of the Treaty.⁵⁰

Senator Benton, referring to "54-40," said of the Treaty: "And this is the end of the great Line! All gone—vanished—evaporated into thin air—and the peace when it was not to be found. Oh mountain that was delivered of a mouse, thy name hence forth shall be '54-40'."⁵¹

The significance of this act of 1846 to the Pacific Coast as far as the United States was concerned was that the country acquired

⁴⁹ Senate Document, 489, p. 19.

⁵⁰ Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, International Act, Protocols and Agreements between United States and Other Powers, 1776-1909*, Vol. I, pp. 656-658.

⁵¹ Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, p. 313.

a domain imperial in extent—more than two and one-third times Great Britain and Ireland, more than one third larger than either France, the German or Austrian Empire (1910), more than two and one half times New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland combined. But its greatest importance was that it secured to our nation a foothold on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. And that it secured to Great Britain the Fraser River and the country she rightfully claimed.

J. H. Brown says: It is an interesting fact that the first news of the Oregon Treaty received in the Territory was contained in a letter from James Douglas, Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay Company to Governor Abernethy, which read as follows:

George Abernethy, Esq.
Dear Sir:

Fort Vancouver,
November 3, 1846.

News very important for all parties in Oregon has just been received by the barque *Toulon* from the Sandwich Islands. It appears that the boundary question is finally and fully settled. This intelligence rests on the authority of Sir George Seymour, the British commander-in-chief in the Pacific, and I think may be relied on. I forward a copy of Sir George's communication on the subject to our agent at Sandwich Islands.

The British government has surrendered more than strict justice required, but John Bull is generous, and was bound to be something more than just to his promising son Jonathan, who will do doubt make good use of the gift. At all events, I am glad to see the vexing question settled so quietly. The Hudson's Bay Company is fully protected in all its interests.

Yours truly,

James Douglas.⁵²

An extract from a private letter of A. Forbes, Esq., consul at Tepic, to Sir George Seymour says: "I send you an American newspaper which Mr. Beckhead has requested to be forwarded to you and which shows the Oregon question is entirely settled; the 49° is to run on to the Straits of Fuca the whole of Island of Vancouver being left in possession of England and said Straits of Fuca, Puget Sound, etc, remaining free to both parties," etc.

Returning to the California question, the President stated at a Cabinet meeting on June 30, that the boundary he preferred when the Treaty of Peace should be made was 26°, but that it was found

⁵² *Political History of Oregon*, Vol. I, p. 291.

that boundary could not be obtained, "I was willing to take 32°, but that in any event we must obtain upper California and New Mexico in any treaty of peace we should make."⁵³ It was still feared that plans of conquest into Upper California, if made public, would defeat the Government's objects as the jealousies of England and France would be excited and the countries might interfere to prevent the accomplishment of the Government's plans. It must be remembered that the Government's agent, Larkin, kept Polk well informed of events in California, and that he was much impressed by the activities of the French and English agents in the province.⁵⁴ In July the President stated that if Congress would pass an appropriation of ten million dollars he had but little doubt that sum on hand at the signature of a treaty might enable the United States to procure California and such boundary as we wished; due to Mexico's impoverished condition, she might be induced to treat where otherwise she might not do so. Senator McDuffie and Cass agreed with him.⁵⁵ Such a message asking for appropriations was sent to Congress with the ratified Oregon Treaty on 5th August, at which time he also recommended the establishment of a Territorial Government in Oregon.⁵⁶

The House passed the appropriation bill but with the "mischievous and foolish amendment to the effect that no territory" acquired from Mexico should ever be slave holding country. (Wilmot Proviso) The President held that slavery was a domestic question and should not be inserted in a treaty with a foreign power. The Senate passed the resolution approving the views of the President (43 to 2) and the resolution approving the appropriation (33 to 9). But Senator Davis spoke against time to defeat the measure which he was unable to defeat by his vote. The President felt sure had this appropriation been passed he "could have made an honorable peace by which I should have acquired California and such other territory as we desired before the end of October."⁵⁷ Congress adjourned without the President's having been acquainted with the fact that it was ready to do so.

The first news of Commodore Sloat's taking of Monterey on July 6th and his hoisting of the American flag there was received by a special messenger from the City of Mexico on 1st September. Commodore Sloat had at the same time issued a proclamation de-

53 *Diary*, p. 496, Vol. I.

54 Cleland, Robert Glass, *Early Sentiment for Annexation in California*, p. 72.

55 *Diary*, 7th July, p. 16; also, 16th July.

56 *Diary*, p. 67, Richardson, Vol. IV, p. 456.

57 *Diary*, 10th August, 1846, Vol. II, p. 77.

claring California to be a possession of the United States of America.

News of Colonel Frémont's engagement with Castro, the Commanding General of Mexico in California, and the retreat of the latter was sent to the President by the "courtesy of the British Legation."⁵⁸ Mediation was suggested by Great Britain through the British Minister, who was asked to sound this Government on the possibility of its acceptance (on September 10th). This suggestion was rejected. Word was received on October 2nd of General Kearney's taking possession of Sante Fé "without firing a gun or shedding blood," and of his proclamation that New Mexico was a conquered province and a part of the United States.⁵⁹ The House of Representatives, on December 15, passed a resolution asking for information relative to the governments established by the military and naval commanders in the conquered provinces. In one of Kearney's documents it was found among other things that he had declared the territory to be a part of the United States and had provided for the election of a Delegate to Congress. In this and some other respects the President considered he had exceeded his power of military commander, but credited him with acting from patriotic motives.⁶⁰ The President in this same month, December, 1846, stated the boundary he proposed to obtain, if possible, would cede to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper and Lower California.⁶¹ This was the extreme limit he had placed thus far to his Pacific Coast territorial aspirations. Dispatches were sent by the Secretary of the Navy early in January to Commodore Stockton (who took Commodore Sloat's place) defining his rights and powers over the provinces of California as well as the laws of nations on the subject of conquered territory; similar communications were also sent by the Secretary of War to General Kearney as applicable to the Province of New Mexico.⁶² These had been expressed in the President's second annual message to Congress, 8th December, 1846,⁶³ at which time he also stated that in the provinces of New Mexico and California "little, if any further resistance was apprehended from the inhabitants to the temporary governments" which had "from the necessity of the case been established." He also again stated the importance of establishing a Territorial Government in Oregon and repeated that recommendation he had made

58 *Diary*, 1st Sept., p. 108.

59 *Diary*, p. 108, Vol. II.

60 *Ibid.*, 19th Dec., 1846.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 283.

62 *Diary*, 11 Jan., 1847.

63 Richardson, Vol. IV. pp. 471-506.

in his message of the year before, adding his purpose to establish a Surveyor General's Office in the Territory, and recommending the making of necessary provisions for the survey of public lands and bringing them into the market. He advised further liberal grants of lands to be made to those occupying land in the Territory and that similar rights of preemption be made to all emigrating there within a limited period to be prescribed by law.

The President was surely the friend of Oregon and, had Congress carried out his recommendations, much trouble and vexation would have been spared the people of the Territory during the critical period of 1843 to 1849.⁶⁴ The significance of the President's policy regarding the Territory is that it indicated what would ultimately be done for Oregon.

The significance of this eventful year is not complete without seeing how much foundation there was for American fear of British intention regarding California.

In 1845, the British foreign office tendered its advice to Mexico with regard to the safety of California. Great Britain desired California to remain Mexican; she feared France might secure it and more that it might fall to the United States.⁶⁵ British interest in California began about 1840 with the desire of Pakenham, British Minister to Mexico, and Barron, Representative of the British Government in California, for increase of naval strength in the Pacific.⁶⁶ Barron soon after began to write of the great value of Upper California. Pakenham also learned of the journey through California of the Frenchman, Duplat Du Mofras, and apparently became suspicious of the French designs upon the Pacific Coast. The result was a dispatch to Palmerston⁶⁷ advocating the plan to ultimately secure California to Great Britain in place of the repayment in cash to British bond holders, that they be permitted to locate on lands there, colonize them and receive revenues from them. (Terms of agreement, concluded 1837 between the Mexican Government and the English Bond holders.) Aberdeen became Foreign Minister before a reply was given, and his reply put an end to Pakenham's dream of British Colonization in California. The reply of Stanley from the Colonial Office to Aberdeen which was transmitted to Pakenham without comment from the Foreign Office was: (Foreign Office Mexico, 143, No. 13 Aberdeen to Pakenham, 15th Dec. 1841)

64 Meany, *History of Washington*, p. 145-149.

65 Fish, *American Diplomacy*, p. 254.

66 Adams, Ephriam Douglas, *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846*; Addendum: *English Interests in the Annexation of California*, p. 236, citing Foreign Office of Mexico.

67 *Ibid*, Foreign Office Mexico, 146, No. 91, Pakenham to Palmerston, p. 237.

(Adams, p. 240) "Not anxious for the formation of new and distant colonies, all of which involve heavy direct and still heavier indirect expenditures besides multiplying the liabilities of misunderstanding and collisions with foreign powers." The British representatives in Mexico and California were confident it would require little activity on the part of the British Government to secure California, and displayed considerable activity and brought pressure to bear on the home Government. They thought arrangements might be made by which British interests in Oregon could be exchanged for a position in California.⁶⁸ This report by Forbes to Barron was transmitted to the British Government and is an "incident of greatest importance, . . . because the reply brought out the most direct and positive instruction given by the British Government in regard to California from 1838-1846." Aberdeen's reply to Barron⁶⁹ (31 December, 1844) was: "Her Majesty's Government can have nothing to do with any insurrectionary movement which may occur in California, nor do they desire their agents in that part of the world should encourage such movements. They desire, on the contrary, that their agents should remain entirely passive. . . . It is, therefore, entirely out of the question that Her Majesty's Government should give any countenance to the notion which seems to have been agitated of Great Britain being invited to take California under her protection. . . . It is, however, of importance to Great Britain, while declining to interfere herself in California if it should throw off the Mexican yoke that it should not assume any other which might prove inimical to British interests."

This following was also written to Barron: "On the other hand you will keep your attention vigilantly alive to every creditable report, . . . of occurrences in California, especially with respect to proceedings of United States citizens settling in the Province whose numbers are daily increasing and who are likely to play a prominent part in any proceeding which may take place there having for its object to free the Province from the yoke of Mexico."⁷⁰

British agents in California remained inactive there until the arrival of Frémont in the winter of 1845-1846. This, Forbes thought, was sufficient evidence something was about to be undertaken by the United States to secure California, so, on January 28, he addressed a protest to Olivaria against Frémont's presence with soldiers in California.⁷¹ Before the reply of the Foreign Office could

68 Adams, (Forbes to Barron, p. 244).

69 *Ibid.*, Foreign Office Mexico, 179.

70 Adams, Foreign Office of Mexico 172, No. 53, p. 250.

71 *Ibid.*, Foreign Office of Mexico, 196, Forbes to Barron, Jan. 30, 1846.

reach him, Sloat had seized Monterey. The Foreign Office was ignorant of this and Forbes' act was the subject of the following instructions from Bankhead: "That while Her Majesty's Government would no doubt view with dissatisfaction the presence of Frémont in California. . . . do not approve of the British vice-consul taking upon himself without instructions from his superiors to address authorities of the Province in which he is residing a formal diplomatic note like that under consideration. I have accordingly to desire that you will signify to Mr. Forbes that Her Majesty's Government do not approve of his late proceeding and wish that he should in the future be more courteous in his conduct."⁷² Adams says that the proposal of Pakenham and the report of Forbes are the only two communications carefully considered or officially met by the British Government regarding California.⁷³ The American suspicions of the actions of the British Admiral of the Pacific Fleet, Seymour, are not borne out by investigation.⁷⁴ Seymour had the same idea regarding California that the British agents had; in the spring of 1846 he requested additional forces in the Pacific, based on the belief that war with the United States was probable, and specified the interests to be guarded in this order: 1st, defense of Oregon; 2nd, observe proceedings of United States relative to Mexico; 3rd, protect British commerce on coast of South America; 4th, attack commerce of United States. The official reply to his request was prepared and forwarded at the time almost identical with the seizures by United States—but, of course, Great Britain was not aware of this. The Admiralty transmitted Seymour's request to the Foreign Office, accompanying it with the statement that in case Aberdeen really wished to have a larger force in the Pacific, the ships necessary for such increase would have to be taken from the home force, and in that event the home force would be reduced below the power of France.⁷⁵ On this ground the Admiralty objected to granting Seymour's request unless the government was willing to find money for the increase of the home force. The Pacific Fleet was to occupy at least two points on the Pacific: "one selected with reference to the French at Tahiti; the other with reference to the position the Americans were taking on the Northwest coast of North America."

Perides, the Mexican President, officially proposed the transfer of California, to England as security for a loan, May, 1846.⁷⁶ Palm-

72 *Ibid.*, Foreign Office of Mexico, 194, No. 161, June 1, 1846.

73 Adams, p. 253.

74 *Ibid.*, Admiralty—Sec'y in Letters, No. 5561, Seymour to Carry, p. 258.

75 *Ibid.*, Admiralty—Sec'y, Out letters No. 1696, June 10, 1846.

erston's letter of August 15, shows the new Minister's policy was the same as that of his predecessor in the affair: "If the Mexican President should revert to the above proposition, you will state to his excellency that Her Majesty's Government would not at present feel disposed to enter into any treaty for the acquisition of California, and, more so, because it seems, according to recent accounts that the Mexican Government may by this time have lost its authority and command over that Province, and would, therefore, be unable to carry into effect its share of any arrangements which might become to regarding it."⁷⁷

The conclusion one must draw is that the only ground the American Government and people had for their suspicions regarding Great Britain's intentions in California was the activities of the British agents there who were anxious to secure the country for England, if possible, but who were not acting upon instructions, for their government, "and were ultimately either checked or reproved for such slight openings as they effected. . . . The theory of active British Governmental design upon California is wholly without foundation."⁷⁸ Bancroft says there is no single word or utterance to indicate the English Government had the slightest intention of obtaining California by conquest or purchase or gave any encouragement to colonization plans of her bond-holding subjects.

A commercial treaty of special significance to a part of the Pacific Coast farther south was that concluded on December 12, 1846, with New Granada, or Colombia.⁷⁹ Its 35th Article contains the stipulation whereby United States agrees to "guarantee positively and efficaciously. . . . the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus [of Panama] and the right of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over said Territory." This was the nearest approach to an alliance or guarantee of sovereignty made by the United States since its release from the obligation of the Treaty of 1778 with France. The acquisition of California and the construction by American citizens of a railroad across the isthmus made this guarantee an important one.⁸⁰

The significance of the year 1846 to the Pacific Coast was, thus, that in this year: the Oregon question was settled, giving England possession of the Coast from 54°-40' to 49°, including Vancouver Island; the remainder of the territory from 49° to 42° be-

⁷⁶ Adams, Foreign Office of Mexico, 197, No. 73, Bankhead to Aberdeen, 31 May, 1846.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Foreign Office of Mexico, 194, No. 4.

⁷⁸ Adams, p. 246; Cleland, p. 82.

⁷⁹ Malloy, Vol. I, p. 302.

⁸⁰ Foster, *Century of Diplomacy*, p. 324.

came a Territory of the United States; California was held by conquest and it was clear that this province of Mexico, with as long a coast line as procurable, would become a permanent possession of the United States when the Treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico should be made, already a complete change in the government of the province was being effected; the right was given by the Treaty with Colombia to interfere in the affairs of that country by force of arms to preserve peace and secure freedom of transit—the beginning of United States' plans in the Caribbean countries; Polk's re-statement of the Monroe Doctrine warned all European nations not to interfere with the coast, as well as any other part of the American continent. In this year the fate of the Pacific Coast of North America, at least from $54^{\circ}40'$ south, was practically determined and the nature of its future development could be foreseen. The most amazing thing is, that, audacious as Polk's policies seemed, and fearful as the American people were of the consequences, there was in reality so little that stood in the way of the President's accomplishing his purposes.

GERTRUDE CUNNINGHAM.

DOCUMENTS

Broughton's Reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands in 1792

An unpublished account of a reconnaissance of the San Juan island group by Lieut. W. R. Broughton, R.N., is now in the library of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W. 1. England, and has been supplied through the courtesy of Capt. E. Altham, R.N., and Mr. E. L. Hughes, Major Librarian.

Captain George Vancouver landed on Protection Island, now at the Northwest corner of Jefferson County, Washington, and made observations, May 17, 1792. He stated that in the northern quarter he could see an "Archipelago of islands of various sizes. On my return on board, I directed Mr. Broughton to use his endeavors in the *Chatham*, to acquire some information in that line." See Edmond S. Meany, *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*, pp. 113-4.

On page 137 Vancouver tells "About four in the afternoon, [of May 25th], agreeably to our expectations, the *Chatham* was seen from the mast head over the land, and about sun-set she arrived and anchored near us. Mr. Broughton informed me, that the part of the coast he had been directed to explore, consisted of an archipelago of islands lying before an extensive arm of the sea stretching in a variety of branches between the N.W. north, and N.N.E. Its extent in the first direction was the most capacious, and presented an unbounded horizon."

J. NEILSON BARRY.

This was the first attempt at a survey of the interesting San Juan Archipelago. One year earlier (1791) the Spanish expedition led by Lieutenant Francisco Eliza charted the southern shores and left the name "Isla y Archipelago de San Juan." This revealed the fact that there was a group of islands in that region. By May of 1792, Vancouver and his officers had not yet met the officers of the *Sutil* and *Mexicano* and would have had no opportunity of learning that any Spanish explorers had approached those islands. Later in that same year, after the discovery and exploration of Puget Sound, Vancouver named Cypress Island and spent enough time there for his small boat excursions to discover Deception Pass, Bellingham Bay and other geographic features. As Mr. Barry has shown, Vancouver recorded the result of Lieutenant Broughton's survey from the 18th to 25th of May.

With footnotes, an effort has been made to indicate by present names the route taken by Lieutenant Broughton in his journey through the islands.

EDITOR.

*Proceedings of His Majesty's Brig Chatham from the
18th to 25th of May, 1792*

On Friday, the 18th May, 1792

At Noon took our departure from middle or 2nd Point bearing from us East $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, with the wind at West we stood over close hauled for the North side of the Straits. At 4 having run 12 miles we weathered a small Island¹—within half a mile to the East of it was a detach'd Sandy Spit extending some distance. An opening² appear'd to the North of a Point over which were some Peaked Hills—and another³ bore of us N.W. for which (the Wind favouring us) we were able to fetch by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Some Rocky Islands lay off the entrance and the appearance of Broken Water or else a very strong Tide setting to windw'd. The Cutter went ahead to sound—and we followed her through a passage of a mile in width, carrying in—19, 13, & 12 fath^{ms}. close to the larboard Rocky Island⁴ as we entered. The Shore from the Starboard side of entrance to Peaked Hill Point⁵ seem'd to be a continuation of Rocky Isles, several of them well cloath'd with wood. After stretching across the Sound⁶ which was closed to the Westward, we bore up to the North side for Anchorage and opened a deep Arm of the Sea⁷ in a N. N. E. direction and soon after another of greater breadth and extending to the N. W'ward. We steer'd over for the N.E. point⁸ of this Arm against a Strong Ebb Tide rounding a Reef of Rocks apparently covered at highwater (no soundings) within them and the shore our Boat found 17 fath^{ms}. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 we came too in 12 fath^{ms}. on the Starboard shore having had overfalls from 18 to 10 f^{ms}. rocky bottom. In the morning [19th] the Cutter went 6 miles up the N.E. Arm⁹—and return'd without seeing any apparent termination to it. After Breakfast, I dispatched two Boats under the direction of Mr. Johnstone (the Tide of Flood having made) up the

1 Smith Island.

2 Entrance to Rosario Strait.

3 Southern entrance to San Juan Channel.

4 Harbor Rock.

5 Point Colville terminating Watmough Head.

6 Griffin Bay.

7 Entrance to Upright Channel.

8 Southern point of Shaw Island.

9 Upright Channel.

N.W. Arm¹⁰ to explore. The wind blowing down prevented the vessel's going so conveniently and I rather supposed it communicated with what we call the true N.W. passage. After their departure we weigh'd and run up the N.E. passage¹¹ (which from the boat not seeing any termination of, I conceived might lead us out to the supposed opening by Peaked Point) and our situation was not the most eligible from the foulness of the ground. After running 2 or 3 miles we anchored off a Sandy Spit between which and the opposite Rocky point form'd the Narrows¹² of this passage not $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile across. Our soundings were very irregular and at last we brought up in 22 fms. with a strong Ebb tide by the falling of the water on shore. Meridian observation gave the Lat. 48° 35' N. Fine pleasant moderate Wear.—the wind from the N.W. Quarter. We frequently hauled the Seine with very indifferent success. At 8 p.m. the Boats return'd and reported the passage which they followed up communicated with an extensive Opening¹³ call'd by us the N.W. passage—and two Arms branched off from it in an N. by W.¹⁴ & N. by E.¹⁵ direction—vide Chart.

At day light in the morning of the 20th, Mr. Johnstone went to sketch the entrance we had first entered by from the Straits and the Tide slacking at 8 we weigh'd, towing to the N.E. ward without any wind. By Noon we came to an Anchor having received very little assistance from the Tide in 27 fms. at the mouth of an Inlet which led to the N.W.—another appeared to the S.E. and the third bore of us N.N.E. These different openings materially affected the Stream of the Tide—and though the rise and fall was considerable by the Shore—our progress was much impeded by their irregularity and we were necessitated to remain stationary for the day—after making another attempt in the Afternoon—No observation.

By Noon the Cutter returned. After dinner the two Boats were sent to explore the passages which presented themselves on each side of the one I meant to pursue. By dark they came back. The S.E. opening¹⁶ Mr. Hanson went up 7 or 8 miles but saw no termination to it. The other opening¹⁷ took a N.W. by W. direction about 4 miles when it branched off to the N.E. and S.W. About two miles up they found a Village—Canoes came off and traded

10 Northern portion of San Juan Channel.

11 Entrance to East Sound.

12 Probably Obstruction Passes.

13 Approaching Canal de Haro.

14 President Channel.

15 Spieden Channel.

16 Lopez Sound.

17 East Sound.

with them for Venison—A young Fawn they got alive—High water by the Shore at 7 hours—The Stream of Tide very inconsiderable.

The morning of the 21st was calm—at 8 we got under way, the Boats towing us towards a narrow passage (which I suppose might carry us out to the Straits). We had light breezes and cloudy weather from the N.E. quarter and by Noon we reached the 2nd Narrows having a strong tide in our favour to carry us through. Several canoes were on the beach and some paddling along shore to the Westward. Mr. Johnstone went ashore with the small boat to take the necessary Angles while we continued turning through the passage—having both boats ahead to assist us—the narrowest part was about 100 fms. across—Our soundings regular from 7 to 15 fms. We now entered a spacious Sound¹⁸ containing several Islands and openings in all directions—Vide Chart. The wind having left us, we were carried to the N.ward very rapidly by a strong Tide setting close along the Larboard shore. Unfortunately at this moment while the boats were pulling us off, they broke the Tow rope, and before we could derive any effect from another—our Head swung inshore and we drifted very gently alongside the Rocks. While the Hawser was coiling away in the Long Boat to haul off by—we floated off, the Eddy tide setting us back to the South^d. The Boats soon towed us into the fair Tide. While alongside the rocks we had 22 fms.—without 30 fms.—The Lead got entangled and we lost it with 20 fms. of line. At 1 p.m. we anchored in 25 fms., there being no wind, and the Tide setting us fast towards the land. The afternoon continued calm. Mr. Johnstone went to explore the openings between the N. & E. and we tried hauling the Seine till sunset without getting any fish. The Cutter returned at dark having found the Eastern opening to lead into the Straits—to the N.E. were several Islands which apparently communicated in the same manner—and a third very extensive opening stretching to the N.W.ward¹⁹—Highwater by the Shore 6 hours.

The 22nd commenced variable weather. In the morning calm—at 8 we weigh'd and towed to the E.ward—The Tide setting us fast to the South shore of this opening (which afterwards proved to be an Island).²⁰ An indifferent observation gave the Lat. 48° 40' N. The afternoon we had fresh breezes from the N.W. quarter with a strong Flood Tide against us at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 making very little

¹⁸ Rosario Strait.

¹⁹ Approach to Georgia Strait.

²⁰ From this point he makes his way back, mentioning but not naming many islands. The final Vancouver chart shows only the outlines of Blakely, Cypress, Decatur and Lopez Islands.

progress and the small boat being absent, we came too in a fine Bay on the North shore within a small Island in 11 f^ms.—The Straits being entirely open with Sandy Island bearing S.5° W.—4 or 5 leagues—Several Islands with an inlet lay to the South of us, which Mr. Johnstone went to examine—But the rapidity of the Food tide prevented his getting over. This Inlet I imagine was the same that was before partially explored by Mr. Hanson.

The Long Boat hauled the Seine with indifferent success and brought off a turn of water which lay very conveniently within the Beach. High water by the shore at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. The Ebb made to the Eastward at 7, at which time it became squally with heavy rain from the S.E. Quarter and a great deal of thunder.

23rd.—Till 6 a.m. we had heavy rain when it clear'd up with the wind at S.S.E. the tide setting to the Eastward, we weigh'd at that time, and worked to windwards towards the Straits passing several islands on the N. side with an extensive Arm which opened in that direction. By 8 we had work'd the length of the Straits—and standing over to the N. shore, perceived a small opening which took a winding direction to the Northward. The Land from hence to the part now under examination of Captain Vancouver was a straight beach in an North direction—we passed to the N.E. of Sandy Island in working, but had no Sounding with 16 f^ms. By Noon we were off the entrance above mentioned and by Observation in the Lat. of 48.16 N. Sandy Island, bearing N. 25 W. 5 miles and middle or 1st point on the Starboard side of entrance S.E. 3 or 4—Off the nearest shore 2 miles. The Flood tide now made strong up this opening with which we worked up very fast. If formed in several places over Falls and constant ripples, appearing like shoal water. At 4 the wind shifted to a light air from the N.W.—and at 6 the Tide having done we came to an Anchor on the Larboard shore of this Arm in 9 f^m off some remarkable White Cliffs forming an abrupt point at the entrance of a large Bay—the night was squally wear^r. from the Southern Quarter.

24th.—At Day light we weigh'd with the last of the Flood and turn'd to windward till 8. Our tacks were not very advantageous and we anchored on the East shore near a projecting Sandy Spit in 9 f^m. The mouth of the entrance from the Straits still open to us bearing N.W. about 7 leagues. A canoe spent the morning with us. At Noon the Tide making, we weigh'd and worked to windward having a fine turning breeze from the S.E. Quarter—after crossing a deep Bay, we opened another arm of the Sea extending

to the N.ward. By halfpast 6 we came too on the west shore in 19 f^ms. having increased our distance not more than 6 miles from the last Anchorage. The Tides did not run with the same rapidity we experienced yesterday which will account for our slow progress.

25th.—At 3 the next morning we again weigh'd with light breezes from the Southward and turn'd up the Arm at 8 we anchored off the East shore off a Sandy Spit, having from 3 to 25 f^ms. close in. The forenoon continued calm. An indifferent observation made the Lat. 47.46 N. At Noon again weigh'd with a light air from the N. and run up the Arm. At 6 saw the Discovery at an Anchor on the West Shore.

W. R. BROUGHTON.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Dixon-Meares Controversy.—Containing, Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, by George Dixon, An Answer to Mr. George Dixon, by John Meares, and Further Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, by George Dixon. Edited by F. W. HOWAY. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1929. Pp. 12+156. \$5.00).

This volume inaugurates the Canadian Historical Studies issued by the Ryerson Press and Louis Carrier and Company under the general editorship of Dr. Lorne Pierce. The new series aims at the publication of "original documents, not easily accessible, and authoritative studies by scholars of recognized ability." It is fitting that the first volume should be edited by Judge F. W. Howay.

The three pamphlets here republished bring to light a long-forgotten dispute between two maritime fur traders, Captain George Dixon of the *Queen Charlotte*, and that charming but quite untrustworthy blusterer, Captain John Meares. The quarrel, which dated from 1787 when Portlock and Dixon met Meares at Prince Williams Sound on the Alaskan coast, was enhanced by the publication of Meare's *Voyages* in 1790. In that volume Meares took pleasure in belittling the work of Portlock and Dixon.

Meares attained a brief international fame at the time of the Nootka Sound controversy and his *Memorial* presented to the House of Commons May 13, 1790, was accepted for a time at its face value. But Meares was an incorrigible distorter of facts. In his introduction Judge Howay carefully weighs the evidence against Meares and finds him entirely wanting in truth. Dixon, on the other hand, was a truthful man who bore a fine reputation as a navigator. Meares is the only person to attack Dixon's veracity or his seamanship.

Angered by references in Meares's *Voyages* Dixon wrote his first pamphlet *Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares Esq.* He refuted many of Meares's statements and attacked the amount of damages claimed by Meares from the Spaniards, showing that the wily captain was claiming \$100 a piece for 5,000 sea-otters which he would have captured if his ships had not been seized at Nootka. He also poked fun at Meares's chart, part of which he likened to the "mould of a good old housewife's butter pat." Meares replied in his *Answer to Mr. George Dixon*, a piece of special pleading which upheld the price asked for the hypothetical sea-otter skins and

quoted alleged statements of Captain Duncan of the *Princess Royal* with reference to Dixon's niggardliness. Dixon returned to the attack in his *Further Remarks*. In it he played his trump card, a letter from Captain Duncan clearing him of Meares's charges and commenting most unfavourably on Meares's character and veracity. Meares attempted no reply.

The controversy sheds light on the early days of the Maritime fur trade. Meares was an important figure in the trade and his *Voyages* were widely read and are still to be found in libraries. Dixon has shown that Meares was incapable of telling a consistent story. The three pamphlets are, therefore, a necessary commentary on the *Voyages*.

Judge Howay's volume is well printed on good paper and has been carefully proofed. In the third pamphlet the archaic long "s's" have been employed. Possibly this might have been made uniform throughout the three pamphlets. The careful introduction and notes set forth the circumstances of the quarrel and give much needed information regarding the movements of the men and ships. The illustrations are drawn from contemporary sources and there is a short index.

Other volumes of the Canadian Historical Studies will be awaited with interest.

WALTER N. SAGE

The Wintering Partners on Peace River. By J. N. WALLACE. (Ottawa: Thorburn & Abbott. 1929. Pp. 139. \$2.00).

Of the eastward-flowing prairie rivers the Peace was that which first became important in the westward advance, for the reason that it was the only one which afforded a road through the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Wallace traces its story from the days of the earliest traders on its banks down to the union of the two companies in 1821. He begins with that rare rascal, Peter Pond, whose movements he examines critically, and reaches the conclusion that the first access to the Peace River was made by Pond overland from the Athabaska. He then sketches the gradual advance up the river under Boyer, Vaudrieul, and McLeod to the day when by Sir Alexander Mackenzie's great voyage the Peace became the first transcontinental highway. He outlines the work of the Finlays, Fraser, Stuart, and McDougall—all pushing the trading posts farther westward and solidifying the position against the energetic, though short-lived, opposition of the XY Company as well as against the spasmodic ef-

forts of the Hudson's Bay Company. We catch glimpses of many people well-known in the trade, including David Thompson and Daniel Williams Harmon: the one examining and surveying the river; the other, preparing himself for more important duties in New Caledonia.

The book shows on every page intense and painstaking effort. A genuine attempt is made to identify the position and the changing positions of every post on the river. Here Mr. Wallace's work in the field and his training as a surveyor stand him in good stead. A skeleton map of the river, showing the old trading posts, enables the reader to follow the text and gives him the feeling of being accompanied by a competent guide.

Mr. Wallace goes to the prime sources and refuses to accept blindly the views of his predecessors. He tests and tries all their conclusions and accepts only those that are satisfactorily established. Other historical writers who encounter difficulties sometimes sidestep them or pass them over without comment; not so, our author; indeed he goes a gunning for them and sometimes even finds them where their existence had never been suspected. Though many students have found the dates usually given in connection with Simon Fraser extremely difficult to reconcile none has been bold enough to suggest, as he does, that two persons of the same name have been confused by the historians—and this may be the case.

The inclusion in the appendix of the journal of Fort Dunvegan from April 18, 1806, to October 14, 1806, will be welcomed by every student of the fur-trade. It is an interesting human document, throwing much light on the daily life of the fur-trader.

Mr. Wallace has done his work thoroughly and well; the index is reasonably complete; the map is a great assistance; but the printer has made many errors.

F. W. HOWAY

Frontiers and the Fur Trade. By SYDNEY GREENBIE. (New York: John Day, 1929. Pp. 235. \$3.75).

When Fur Was King. By HENRY JOHN MOBERLY; in collaboration with WILLIAM BLEASDELL CAMERON. Illustrations by John Innes and from photographs. (London: Dent, 1929. Pp. 237. \$2.75).

Fur traders, trappers and fishers are coexistent with frontiers. This is an axiom in Sydney Greenbie's *Frontiers and the Fur Trade*. Emphasis is placed on the fur trade, only a few incidental chapters

being devoted to fishing. Beginning with Arabia and Persia, continuing with the barbarian frontiers of Greece and Rome, Greenbie advances his theme westward to the Pacific Northwest. Reverting thereafter to the vikings, he pursues his narrative eastward through Russia and Siberia and across to Alaska, thus encircling the globe. The ramifications of the history of the fur trade from the time of Usoos, the Phoenician, to James Bridger, Northwest trapper, he interprets in their present day significance.

The major portion of the book is concerned with America and in America Greenbie considers only those fur traders who were the pathfinders of the forests, men who preceded the trapper guides and the settlers of the early nineteenth century. Fur has been a dominant force in the exploration of the American continent. "But for the beaver we might now be addressing our petitions to Governor Olden Barneveld Beverwyck, New Amsterdam, instead of Governor Alfred Smith, Albany. Had it not been for fur, France and England might still be in America today." Spain too made an attempt, though belated, to profit by the wealth in furs in America. In brief, the influence of fur is shown to be incalculable.

There is not a page in the book that lags. Enticing titles lead on from chapter to chapter; saga and legend, epigram and humor leaven the whole. As transitions between chapters are frequently lacking, however, the final impression is of a collection of entertaining historical essays rather than a carefully unified history. Nevertheless entertainment is surely to be found here and also an incentive to read more detailed accounts of the adventures of Lord Selkirk, Hendrik Hudson, John Ledyard, Manuel Lisa and all the others who pass. For this reason the omission of a bibliography is regrettable. The book does not duplicate or displace F. J. Turner's *Frontiers in American History* or H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, but is an excellent introduction to further study of the subject and as an inspirational account of the influence of fur upon our present civilization, it needs no apology. There would be more readers of history were it vitalized as in *Frontiers and the Fur Trade*.

"If there is any doubt whether trader or priest led the way of civilization in North America, it is dissipated the moment a finer distinction is drawn between trader and trapper. The trader as representative of the monopolies, soon built a manor in the new world and barricaded himself against the slings and arrows of outraged barbarism." Henry John Moberly was a fur trader and his

narrative as recorded by William Bleasdale Cameron in *When Fur Was King* belongs to a later period than that covered in Greenbie's book.

As factor for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1854 to 1894 he served at numerous posts throughout the Canadian Northwest. His encounters with beavers, bears and wolves must have been all that an adventurous hunter could desire. Because of his fearlessness before ferocious wild animals and his ability to deal with the Indians he cannot resist a little braggadocio; yet for the most part his stories are related with a restraint that makes them convincing.

Part two of the volume consists of Indian stories that deal with "a most dramatic side of the frontier life of the period" and an appendix which gives a brief review of the Hudson's Bay Company's claims to the Canadian Northwest.

As Moberly was with the Hudson's Bay Company both before and after it surrendered its sovereign rights to the Canadian government, he gives first hand information of a period that is now historical. His account is a valuable contribution to the annals of the Hudson's Bay Company.

ELVA L. BATCHELLER

John Jacob Astor. By ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH. (Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott Company, 1929. Pp. 296. \$3.50).

This life of Astor is divided into six sections. Book one: A Venture in Flutes, and Book six: The Landlord of New York, deal with the Astor personality. The other four books cover the development of the fur trade.

Mr. Howden Smith is a writer of biography and fiction and recently edited the *Hancock Narrative*. Lippincott's say of him: "He has established himself as a vivid and accurate recreator of personality and a successful searcher for rich historic detail." The first part of this statement is true. Astor is shown in a frank, unbiased, just manner with a human appeal. His character is summed up as selfish, narrow-minded, unsocial, cold, acquisitive, stubborn, and unrelenting. In contrast to this he was courageous, had a masterful resolve, was tolerant, had a deep affection for his family. He had a blending of faults and virtues and there was something "baffling attractive" about him.

This German emigrant came to New York with about \$25 and a few flutes. When he died his estate was valued at many millions. Many American rich men have had as remarkable a financial career,

but few have been given the opportunity of opening up and developing our country, such as Astor might have done. He lacked vision, he had little ability in selecting the suitable men to carry out his work, he thought more of personal gain than of acquiring territory or benefiting his countrymen. Because of these reasons, and because of war and unforeseen disasters his fur posts were a failure. We cannot condone his avariciousness, yet indirectly this was the means of developing the fur trade for others. In establishing Astoria, his influence on the history of our Northwest was greater than many of the statesmen of his time.

Book four: An Apostle of Empire, treats of the Hunt Expedition, and Book five: The First Trust of the American Fur Company. The author has fearlessly stated his interpretations of this Expedition. Historians might disagree with his characterizations. His tendency is to over-emphasize certain mannerisms, to enlarge on certain faults and virtues. He has, however, depicted each person in the Expedition in an intriguing way making further research work inviting.

A bibliography would have added much to the historic value. The book was obviously not written to attract historians, but to entertain a larger public. The newspaper training of the author accounts for the popular "readable" style.

LOU LARSON

The Hunting of the Buffalo. By E. DOUGLAS BRANCH. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929. Pp. 240. \$3.00).

The Hunting of the Buffalo gives a different phase of the passing of the frontier, describing the hordes that roamed the plains, the territory they covered, and the way in which they were all but exterminated. The author has told his story in a popular way, quoting from authorities and illustrating the book with plates from their works. A good usable index is included.

With the opening of the railroads, excursion rates were advertised for buffalo hunts. "The buffalo had not yet learned to take flight at sight of the engines; if buffalo were traveling in a course across the railway, away they went, charging across the ridge on which the iron rails lay, determined to head off the locomotive and cross in front of it. It often happened that buffaloes and cars ran side by side for a mile or two so near that passengers could almost clutch the buffalo by their manes; then the car windows were opened and breechloaders flung hundreds of wanton bullets."

Some idea of the rapidity with which buffaloes were being exterminated by Indians and white men is shown by the fact that in 1872 and 1873 some 1,250,000 skins were sent East. Practically all farmers in Kansas and Nebraska went West, returning with wagon-loads of buffalo meat but leaving most of the skins, which they did not know how to tan. We are told that in 1874 only a scant carload of skins was sent East. This was the last shipment made by way of the Northern Pacific Railroad, so complete had been the destruction of the herds.

In Canada, buffaloes were saved from complete annihilation by the government. A district was set aside for their protection, and entrusted to the care of the Northwest Mounted Police. Only through popular appeal, and that coming almost too late, was the buffalo saved in the United States. "In 1926 there were 4,376 buffaloes in the United States and 11,957 in Canada."

LOUISE G. PRICHARD

Lore and Legends of the Klamath River Indians. By CHARLES S. GRAVES. (Yreka, California: Times Press, 1929. Pp. 137. \$2.00).

This small volume of tales from the lower Klamath River Indians is quite typical of its kind of literature. In the laudable desire to create an appreciation for the native traditions of these people, the author has indulged in entirely too much sentiment and near pidgin English. In relating the stories an artificial setting is used to introduce them and this together with the interdispersal of elements of folklore destroys the unity of the tale. Folktales, like pieces of written literature, have definite literary style of which the narrator is always conscious. It is well known that within a certain range this form has as much variability as our own literary traditions. From this point of view these stories do not ring true. On the other hand the folktale motifs which occur in the tales are exactly what one would expect from this area. In spite of all the ethnological work done in California as a whole we unfortunately do not have in print any comprehensive collection of the folktales of the Yurok (Euruck of Graves and Karok (Karuck). Kroeber briefly characterizes the mythology in his *Handbook of California Indians*, but prints none of the tales. This situation makes a collection of this kind of some value even though from the scientific point of view it has flaws.

There is no doubt that Mr. Graves' tales are reliable. They can

be readily used by the student of folktales for his knowledge of the field shows him what to eliminate. For the non-scientist they give some conception of a people whose culture has practically vanished.

ERNA GUNTHER

Utah and the Nation. By LELAND HARGRAVE CREER. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929. Pp. 275. \$3.00.)

The author is Assistant Professor of History in the University of Washington. His monograph deals with the relations between the Federal authorities and the people of Utah from the call of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War to the establishment of a daily overland mail, expressed in year—1846 to 1861. While it is another study of the American frontier, the author is fully aware that Utah has been different from most of the other frontier communities. He says in his preface:

"On the other hand, there was much in Utah that was unique. Here we have a state that grew directly out of the founding of a new religion. So different from anything that had heretofore been known was that religion in its practices and pretensions that it was difficult for any who came in contact with the Mormons to become reconciled to them or to their creed. Hence, there developed a deep-seated prejudice against the Mormons which grew in intensity as their numbers increased and their influence became greater. This prejudice was early acquired by some of the non-Mormon federal officials of Utah. It is not unnatural, therefore, to find the relations between these unsympathetic officials and the Mormons, during this period, highly controversial and complicated."

Such frankness does credit to Professor Creer and it appears to the present reviewer that he has gone forward with his difficult task in a spirit of commendable fairness and industry. In addition to Federal documents, Utah Territorial documents, newspapers, periodicals and other published materials, he had access to extensive Mormon Church manuscripts and forty-five manuscript documents in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. It seems unlikely that any important source has been overlooked.

The scope and thoroughness of the work may be judged from the titles of the twelve chapters as follows: "The Birth and Growth of Mormonism (1820-1846)," "The Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons," "The Mormon Battalion," "The State of Deseret," "The Establishment of the Territory," "The Administra-

tion of Brigham Young," "An Impending Crisis," "The Utah War," "Investigation and Reconciliation," "Federal Indian Policy," "The Mountain Meadow Massacre," "Utah and the Overland Mail."

While the main work has to do with the span of years, 1846-1861, those dates are not restrictive. The first two chapters are introductory and go back as far as 1776 and references are also made to statehood in 1896. Anyone wishing to verify the author's fairness should read Chapter XI, "The Mountain Meadows Massacre." Great controversy has characterized this subject in many discussions yet Professor Creer has calmly related the details of the tragic event without bias.

That all the Federal affairs were not prejudiced against the Mormons is shown by an incident related on pages 109-110. Owing to reports received and also to the official announcement of the Church in 1852 respecting the doctrine and practice of polygamy, there was a strong feeling in the National Capital that a non-Mormon should be appointed to succeed Brigham Young as Territorial Governor of Utah. It was then that President Pierce offered the office to Colonel E. J. Steptoe, who had arrived with his command at Salt Lake City, August 31, 1854, enroute for California. Professor Creer says: "Knowing, however, that Governor Young was the people's choice, the colonel refused to accept the nomination and joined with all the federal appointees, the officers of his command and all prominent citizens of the Territory in requesting President Pierce to reappoint Brigham Young Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The President responded by continuing the Mormon leader in office for a second term."

Soon after the above experience in Utah Colonel Edward Jevnor Steptoe made a permanent place for himself in the history of Washington Territory. On October 27, 1856, he wrote to his sister: "Do you know where this place is? Look up the Columbia River on the map till you see its tributary, the Walla Walla, and on this latter 'The Mission.' About five miles above the last place I am erecting a Post." That was the real beginning of the City of Walla Walla, famous as the "Garden City" of Southeastern Washington. In its earliest days it was called "Steptoeville" or "Steptoe City." On May 17, 1858, Colonel Steptoe with one hundred and thirty dragoons suffered defeat from a superior force of Indians in a battle near the present City of Rosalia. The landscape in that vicinity was dominated by Pyramid Peak. That name was changed to Steptoe Butte and the Indian engagement has since been known

as the Battle of Steptoe Butte. There are also a town and a creek in Whitman County and rapids in Snake River bearing the name of Steptoe. It is fortunate that Professor Creer's graceful tribute to a generous act in Utah should call attention to an officer so effective on another portion of America's frontier.

EDMOND S. MEANY

The Story of the Red Man. By FLORA WARREN SEYMOUR. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929. Pp. 421. \$5.00).

Mrs. Seymour has undertaken an enormous work to treat in one volume a complete *Story of the Red Man*. She begins with "Los Indios!" as an exclamation by Columbus and ends with a Memorial Day celebration at the small Swinomish Reservation on the shores of Puget Sound. In between are her twenty compact and informative chapters. The publishers are confident. They say: "The race epic of the American Indian is told here for the first time. Here also is a new history of America, for our pageant of pioneering has never before been presented as it appeared to the Red Man."

Local readers will be especially interested in Chapter XI, "Oregon Country." It is a charming segment of the "pageant" from Lewis and Clark to Marcus Whitman and Peter Skene Ogden. If one be disappointed about the amount of information pertaining to the numerous tribes in the Oregon Country, he cannot complain about the quality. Mrs. Seymour has written other books about Indians and frontiersmen. She was appointed in 1922 a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The publishers have given the work a beautiful format. There are thirty-one illustrations and twelve maps. The bibliographical notes and a copious index are valuable adjuncts.

History of Early Common School Education in Washington. By THOMAS WILLIAM BIBB. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929. Pp. 154. \$1.50).

This thesis submitted in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy shows an extensive and painstaking amount of research. The word "Early" in the title means that the work begins with Indians, fur traders, missionaries and settlers and progresses with the first struggles for schools. The record ends with the admission of Washington to statehood in 1889. The bibliography reflects Professor Bibb's great industry in gathering his materials from about every possible source. He has blazed the way and set a rather

severe pace for the one who may hereafter attempt to complete the record since statehood.

J. Ross Browne: A Biography. By FRANCIS J. ROCK. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1929. Pp. 80).

The author, Francis J. Rock is a Priest of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. His book was submitted as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at the Catholic University of America.

J. Ross Browne had a remarkable career as public officer in various parts of the world and as a pioneer literary man on the Pacific Coast of America. In the latter capacity he was fearless, sarcastic and humorous. One of his essays, mentioned by Father Rock on page 61, was entitled: *The Great Port Townsend Conspiracy, Showing How Whiskey Built a City*. Browne is compared with Mark Twain and Lieutenant Darby, the famous Army wit, who as "John Phoenix," wrote the popular book *Phoenixiana*. The author says: "Phoenix and Browne snapped out their sentences, often in a nervous fashion, and it is difficult for them to remain solemn for any length of time. Browne, therefore, though for most part different in subject matter, reads more like John Phoenix than like Mark Twain."

Frederick West Lander, Road Builder. By E. DOUGLAS BRANCH. (Reprint from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI., No. 2, September, 1929, Pp. 172 to 187).

Scant information is available for a personal biography of General Lander, though Mr. Branch has assembled much about his professional career as an engineer. He was a member of the staff with Governor Isaac I. Stevens in 1853 while making the famous railroad surveys. He did not agree with his chief and early in 1854 appealed to the Legislature of Washington Territory for authority to undertake some independent surveys. The author says, page 174: "Lander and his brother Edward, then Chief Justice of Washington Territory, may have been anxious to have real estate values in Seattle advance; certainly in his report he was emphatic that Seattle was the most likely terminus, and quoted Captain George B. McClellan and Governor Stevens to substantiate his own preference. Again, he may have foreseen the profitable eminence which the expedition brought him. Again, he may have been thoroughly infected with the altrusion of expansion. Lander was quite capable of uniting within himself all three motives."

The Mountaineer. By WINONA BAILEY and EDITORIAL BOARD. (Seattle: The Mountaineers Incorporated, 1929. Pp. 81. \$0.75.)

Mazama. By JOHN D. SCOTT and COMMITTEE. (Portland: The Mazamas, 1929. Pp. 184. \$1.00.)

These annual publications are always appreciated and complete files are highly prized by libraries and collectors of Northwest Americana. Each issue contains the records of the year's alpine activities, financial statements, lists of members and other items of importance to the organization. But the main portion of each book is given to special, highly illustrated, articles pertaining to mountains of the Pacific Northwest.

The Mountaineer for 1929 is called "Special Ski Number," and contains much material to record progress in the most exhilarating of mountain sports. As usual stress is also placed on the accounts of the Summer Outing, this time in the Canadian Rockies with the base camp at Lake O'Hara. The greeting was graciously written by W. L. Mackenzie King, Premier of Canada. The account of the Outing was written by Catherine Crayton. The group of skiing articles includes: "Skiing in Switzerland," by Irving M. Clark; "History of Skis and Ski-Running" by K. Vilhelm Amundsen (a translation by A. W. Anderson); "Ski-Jumping" by Hans-Otto Giese; "Trophies," by T. Dexter Everts; "Dress, Equipment and Waxes," by N. W. Grigg; "Skis Triumphant, a Story," by W. J. Maxwell. A remarkable article entitled "Northern Life Tower" is furnished by the architect, A. H. Albertson, whose opening sentence is: "On the Glacier Peak Outing during the summer of 1910, I was first struck by certain rock masses which suggested architectural form." A poem "The Harp of O'Hara" by Edmond S. Meany, is honored with the position of frontispiece.

Mazama gives attention to the 1929 Outing at Three Sisters and also to the proposed Outing for 1930 at Mount Baker. The beautifully illustrated articles include: "The Three Sisters Entertain the Mazamas," by Ann W. Shepard; "A Tenderfoot on North Sister," by L. H. Weir; "A Traverse of the North Sister," by John D. Scott; "A Birdseye View of Some Canadian Climbs," by Don M. Woods; "Mapping Program for Oregon," by Lewis A. McArthur; "Flora of Mt. Baker," by Harold St. John and Edith Hardin; "Activities of the Olympians," by Tony Forest; "The Chemeketans at Mt. Jefferson," by C. A. Sprague; "An Ascent of Three-Fingered Jack," by Margaret H. Lynch; "Three Fingered Jack: a Directory and Some Comments," by William J.

Reid, Jr.; "Next Year, Mt. Baker," by Rex H. Bunnage; "Records of Rare Plants from the Pacific Northwest," by Carl S. English, Jr.; "Geographic Progress in Oregon in 1929," by Lewis A. McArthur; "Retiring President's Address," by John D. Scott. A Subject and author's index of the Mazama Annuals 1896 to 1929, compiled by C. H. Sholes, will prove of permanent value.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- BENNETT, GEORGE H. *How Can Jew, Catholic, Protestants Agree on Religion—Evolution?* (Forest Grove, Oregon: Spaulding and Crosby Press, c1929. Pp. 88. \$1.00).
- LOTHROP, S. K. *Polychrome Guanaco Cloaks of Patagonia.* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1929. Pp. 30).
- MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION. *Michigan Historical Collections, Vol. XL. Documents Relating to Detroit and Vicinity, 1805-1813.* (Lansing: Commission, 1929. Pp. 754).
- NEWSOME, A. R. Compiler. *North Carolina Manual* 1929. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929. Pp. 618).
- ORCHARD, WILLIAM C. *Beads and Beadwork of the American Indians.* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1929. Pp. 140).
- REA, LEONARD OWENS. *The Financial History of Baltimore 1900-1926.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. Pp. 127. \$1.25).
- SCHAFER, JOSEPH. Translator. *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz 1841-1869.* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928. Pp. 491).
- SHERMAN, R. S. *Mother Nature Stories.* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1924. Pp. 259).
- SWISHER, JACOB ARMSTRONG. *The American Legion in Iowa 1919-1929.* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1929. Pp. 303).
- WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings and Collections, 1925 and 1926. Volume XX.* (Wilkes-Barré: Society, 1929. Pp. 272).

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA

A Notable Collection of Manuscripts

Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History in the University of Washington, has recently donated to the Library of that institution his collection of documents and manuscripts representing an accumulation of thirty-five years. The collection comprises some thirty lots or items, among them the following:

Winfield Scott Ebey's Diaries

Three small diaries marked "A," "B," and "C" and nine diaries numbered in Roman "I," "II," "III," etc. The dates covered range from April 26, 1854, to November 14, 1863. The notes cover the crossing of the Plains and the author's life and experiences in Port Townsend and Whidby Island.

Ebey Letters

Letters by and about Isaac N. Ebey, W. S. Ebey, photographs of the Ebey family and other pioneers. These and the Ebey diaries had been obtained from Mrs. John Allan Park of Hayward, California.

Letters and Documents

Hundreds of papers in twenty packets tied into one combined bundle. These bear dates from 1853 to 1876 and deal with a great variety of subjects like Indian Wars, Hudson's Bay Company, early institutions and transactions. With the consent and encouragement of Governor John R. Rogers, in 1897, these papers were rescued from the garret of the old wooden capitol where they were found scattered between the unfloored joists. Many of the papers show tobacco stains and foot-marks where workmen had evidently trampled them while repairing the building's roof. This collection has been a rich source for documents to be published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver's Island

Letter to Governor Stevens of Washington Territory, dated 26 April, 1855, about Sheriff Barnes of "Whatcomb" County, sending an armed force to collect taxes of Charles Griffin, a British subject, on San Juan Island.

Stevens County History by W. P. Winans

The gift letter, attached, by Frederick W. Dewart, of Spokane, says that this and the following manuscript have not been published.

The Last Indian Wars of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho, by Garret B. Hunt

Attached are the gift letter from Mr. Dewart and a letter and clipping from Mr. Hunt, the author.

Founding of the Navy Yard, Puget Sound

A package of nineteen letters and documents including one clipping obtained from Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff for final preservation in the University of Washington Library.

B. F. Kendall and Other Territorial Letters and Documents

Seven packets in one combined bundle, presented in August, 1929, by Mrs. Harry B. McElroy of Olympia. They are remnants of her late husband's collection.

1878 Constitutional Convention Documents

Part of the Proceedings and numerous other papers.

Port Gamble Documents

Honorable Richard W. Condon rescued from an old warehouse about to be destroyed at Port Gamble a box filled with account books, letters and other documents pertaining largely to a business conducted in Olympia in 1854.

Maynard Donation Land Claim Patent

A United States document in favor of David S. Maynard, one of Seattle's old pioneers.

Ship Nestor Diary 1849-1850

This manuscript is substantially bound and contains the record of a voyage from Salem around the Horn to San Francisco in the Gold Rush time. It was written by Pierce W. Baker.

The Narrative of Samuel Hancock

A portion of this manuscript was printed in 1927 by McBride and Company of New York.

The Loyal League of Seattle

The original book containing the constitution, by-laws, and autograph signatures of 305 members, mostly prominent people of the early 1880's when the League was formed.

Fort Townsend Papers

In 1928, Mr. George A. Ferguson found on the floors and nearby grounds at the abandoned Fort Townsend a number of papers, written and printed, which he presented to Professor Meany.

A Union List of Manuscripts

Owing to unforeseen delays, the *Union List of Manuscripts* in preparation by libraries of the Pacific Northwest has not yet gone to press. The delay in publication, however, has served to increase the number of entries. A list of important items from the Historical Society of Montana has been recently contributed. The recent appointment of Miss Ruth Reynolds, Assistant Librarian of Whit-

man College Library, to the Committee in charge of the work promises to bring additional items from that institution.

The French Zimmermann

Readers of this *Quarterly* are familiar with the search made in recent years for copies of the book written by Heinrich Zimmermann recounting his travel around the world with Captain James Cook. The importance of this work was stressed by Judge F. W. Howay in an address before the Royal Society of Canada in 1924, in which he stated that he had never seen a copy and that no copy had been located in any library of the world. Notes in regard to the finding of copies of the German editions of 1781 and 1782 have been given in this department of the *Quarterly*, Volume 17, Pp. 238, 311.

A copy of the French edition entitled *Dernier Voyage du Capitaine Cook Autour du Monde* (Berne, Nouvelle Société Typographique, 1782) has been recently added to the University of Washington Library. It contains considerably more material than the German edition of 110 pages, namely sixteen pages of prefatory matter, an abridged life of Captain Cook occupying pages 118-172, and forty numbered notes of explanation occupying pages 173-200. A copy of the Berne edition is also available in the Provincial Library of British Columbia. Students are awaiting with eagerness the English edition of Zimmermann's Cook, edited by Judge Howay, which is in preparation by the Ryerson Press of Toronto as one of their series of Canadian Historical Studies.

Wood's "Book of Tales"

A new edition of *A Book of Tales* by Charles Erskine Scott Wood (New York, The Vanguard Press, c1929. Pp. 165) affords opportunity to make a correction to the entry for the first edition as given in *Pacific Northwest Americana*, item No. 4456. In a letter to the writer dated April 26, 1927, Mr. Lewis A. McArthur of Portland, Oregon, furnishes the following information: "I have a minor correction for your check list. Under the name Wood you have listed "A Book of Tales" written by C. E. S. Wood, Portland, Oregon, and published by McArthur and Wood. The date printed is incorrect. It should be 1901 and not 1891. Mr. Wood's son, William Maxwell Wood, and I printed this little book on a hand press in the attic of my home. Mr. Wood was very much interested in fine books. He sent to Holland to get Van Gelder handmade

paper and had a special font of type designed by Theodore L. De Vinne of the Century Company. We printed one hundred and five copies of this book. We began the work when we were fourteen years old. It took us three years to finish it. This book has now become very scarce."

The Library Association of Portland has a copy of the first edition and reports that the reprint of 1929 appears to follow the text of the original edition without change.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Pictorial Record of Puget Sound Steamers

Willard C. Johnson, of Tacoma, a student in the University of Washington, has for years pursued a useful hobby with remarkable results. He inherited a love for sea-going crafts and early began to collect pictures of all such known to have plied the waters of Puget Sound. Such pictures (many rare ones) now run into the hundreds. Following this work he began to make models, true to scale, one-eighth of an inch to the foot. He now has in storage at Tacoma 307 such models. It is hoped that there may be provided a marine room in some museum to properly house this valuable record of an important phase of northwestern history.

Railway Survey of 1853

In the September, 1929, number of the *Colorado Magazine* there is an article entitled "The Explorations of Gunnison and Beckwith in Colorado and Utah, 1853," by Leland Hargrave Creer, Assistant Professor of History, University of Washington. The story is gleaned from government documents and is made valuable as well as interesting by the manifest fact that Professor Creer is quite familiar with the ground covered and the history involved in that early surveying expedition.

The Quivira Society

A group of investigators engaged in research pertaining to the early history of the southwestern part of the United States and of northern Mexico have organized The Quivira Society. There are no initiation fees, dues, or responsibilities. The members, libraries, clubs, or individuals, simply agree to purchase English translations of old Spanish documents of historical merit as they are published, one or two a year. The high quality of the enterprise is assured by the following list of sponsors: Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan; Lansing B. Bloom, editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review*; Herbert E. Bolton, Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California; Charles W. Hackett, University of Texas; George P. Hammond, University of Southern California; Edgar L. Hewett, Director of the School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico; F. W. Hodge, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; J. Lloyd Mecham, University of Texas; Agapito Rey, Indiana University; A. B. Thomas, University of Oklahoma, and H. R. Wagner, San Marino, California. Of these, Mr. Hammond is managing editor, while Mr. Bolton and

Mr. Hodge will serve as advisory editors. The publications will be available only to members of the Society.

Wyoming Landmark Commission

The State of Wyoming is rich in old trails and historic sites. The people are showing determined interest in the plans for placing permanent markers. In 1927 the Legislature enacted a law to provide for the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming, clothing it with ample power to acquire the necessary lands even to the extent of condemnation, known in some laws as "eminent domain."

The Commission has just issued its first *Biennial Report* showing a commendable amount of work already accomplished. One of the sites sought as a permanent possession of the State is Old Independence Rock, spoken of as "one of the great natural monuments along the old Oregon Trail." Names of hundreds of emigrants are still discernable, though many of them were traced on the old Rock in the early '40's. The natural monument, and the site of old Fort Laramie (as well as the sites of other frontier forts) are in private ownership. Efforts are being made to acquire them for the State.

The members of this first Commission are R. S. Ellison, chairman; J. S. Weppner, secretary, and Warren Richardson, treasurer.

John C. Lawrence

Mr. J. Orin Oliphant of the State Normal School at Cheney, received in trust from the late John C. Lawrence, a carefully prepared manuscript entitled: "The Story of My Life." It was to be given into the custody of the State Library at Olympia. Mr. Lawrence has there recorded his forty years' of experiences in and around Garfield, Eastern Washington. He was a pioneer in educational work, an officer in the United States Land Office in Waterville, and later a member of the Washington State Railroad Commission. His last work was begun on January 2, 1922, with the Washington Co-operative Egg and Poultry Association at Winlock. In the last part of his book, Mr. Lawrence had placed twenty-one poems he had written from time to time.

Sixty-five Years of Wedded Life

On August 18, 1929, felicitations passed between Olympia and Portland while two pioneer couples were celebrating the sixty-fifth anniversary of their weddings. Mr. and Mrs. William M. Blakeley

of Pendleton, had gone to Portland for their celebration. Many of their relatives live in or near that city. They were married in Brownsville, Oregon, on August 18, 1864. On that same day Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Simmons were married in Seattle. Since then they have lived near Olympia. Mr. Simmons was born on the north shore of the Columbia River in 1844 while the Pacific Northwest was under the Provisional Government of Oregon.

Pioneer of Alaska

Charles Edward Gordon, now sixty-seven years of age, has settled in Seattle, his present address being 1912 Ninth Avenue. He has had experiences in many parts of the world but a large part of his life has been spent in Alaska. He was among the earliest gold discoverers at Nome. He did not keep a diary but he has a keen memory and is now writing for the benefit of those who may care for the exciting history of which he has been a part.

Teacher from Hawaii

Prof. R. S. Kuykendall, Executive Secretary, Historical Commission, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, sends the following item by way of J. Neilson Barry of Portland, Oregon.

George T. Allan, one of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in Honolulu, wrote to G. P. Judd, Minister of the Interior, a letter dated May, 3, 1845, saying, "We shall feel extremely obliged to you and also Dr. McLoughlin by your procuring a Teacher to go in the *Cowlitz*." The letter is found in the Archives of Hawaii, Interior Department, Letter book No. 1, p. 31, and in the same source, page 36, is found the reply from G. P. Judd to George T. Allan, dated at Honolulu, May 13, 1845, as follows:

"The bearer, Wm. R. Kaulehelehe, is the teacher whom I have procured to go to the Columbia agreeably with the request of Dr. McLoughlin made through you. His wife accompanies him. Although not as well qualified as the person at first selected, I hesitate not to give him a good character and high recommendation as a faithful, industrious skilful Teacher, and in regular standing as a member of the Church. He will be competent to act as Chaplain to the Hawaiians in the Columbia. Mary L. Kaai, his wife, is highly recommended to me by Mrs. Knapp and I have no doubt will prove herself highly useful. To the especial care of the Hon. H. B. Co. I beg leave particularly to recommend them both."

The *Cowlitz* sailed from Honolulu, May 15, 1845.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

A YANKEE TRADER ON THE NORTHWEST COAST,
1791-1795

The ship *Jefferson*, of 152 tons burden, sailed from Boston on 29th November, 1791, for the Northwest Coast. She was owned by J. and T. Lamb and associates, and commanded by Josiah Roberts. The record of her voyage, now extant, and from which this article is prepared was kept by Bernard Magee, her first officer. The *Jefferson* rounded Cape Horn in March, 1792, and in May came to anchor in Cumberland Bay, Juan Fernandez. Solomon Kendrick, her second officer, who had been there with his father in 1788 in the *Columbia* took the vessel into harbor. The former governor, Don Blas Gonzales, having been dismissed because of his kindness to the *Columbia* on that occasion, the present incumbent would take no chances and refused permission to land. At this time Spain's monopoly of the South Seas was crumbling into ruins; but that seemed the more reason for clinging to the shadow. The Governor, however, supplied them with water, meat and vegetables, and gave them a letter to his superior at Valparaiso. Reaching that port Captain Roberts was ready with the threadbare story of a voyage in search of the North West Passage. The Governor at Valparaiso had his instructions also and could only suggest an application to Don Ambrosio Higgins, the Captain-General at St. Iago. That genial Irishman having in a lengthy and flattering letter granted the request, the *Jefferson* remained until 26th June in Valparaiso harbor. Thence she sailed to St. Ambrose Island, where in seven weeks she obtained almost 13,000 seal skins, which Magee claimed to be "superior to any that ever was brought to the China market."

Leaving St. Ambrose on 28th September, 1792, the *Jefferson* on 11th November anchored in Captain Cook's Resolution Bay, Marquesas Islands. Magee bears witness to the theiving habits of the natives, saying: "It is beyond conception there Dexterity in theft."

The main object of this visit was to build a small schooner of some twenty tons, which had been brought out in frame. The keel was laid on 19th November and the vessel launched on 8th February,

1793. Magee explains that this was a much longer time than had been anticipated, but that it was owing to the changes in her model and the necessity of preparing the extra timbers. He declares that when launched she "was a complete little vessel which we named after the bay she was built in—the *Resolution*." According to Rochedoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats-unis d'Amérique*, vol. 3, p. 20 the *Resolution* was of 90 tons.

Sailing from Resolution Bay on 24th February, Roberts soon fell in with the New Islands which (though he knew it not and thought himself the discoverer) had been seen in June, 1791, by Marchand in *La Solide* and in the preceding April by Ingraham in the *Hope*. In March, 1793, the *Jefferson* reached the Hawaiian Islands where she stayed but a few days obtaining provisions. Thence continuing her voyage she sighted the Northwest Coast on 14th May in latitude 45° 15'.

For a week she met baffling winds. On the 20th she reached a village in latitude 44° 46', somewhat south of the Columbia River, where in 1790 Captain Simon Metcalfe had procured some skins. Though they saw smoke and landed they met no natives. Continuing their course along shore, by the 23rd they had made 75 miles; the next twenty-four hours added 60 miles; and thus slowly moving northward the *Jefferson* on 28th May reached Barkley Sound and anchored the following day in a snug and commodious harbor. The vessel's bottom having become very foul during the two years absence from Boston she was now laid on shore for cleaning whilst the longboat sought trade. The first sea-otter skin cost ten toes: i.e. the so-called chisels, bits of iron drawn to a cutting edge like a chisel. Skins seemed to be plentiful, but the Indians declared that they must all go to Wickananish, the head chief at Clayoquot Sound. Four villages yielded only one prime skin; the ship bought seven; the prospect seemed disheartening.

By 3rd June the ship had been graved. No sign had been discovered of the little schooner. Soon Tatoochcoosettle, a brother of Wickananish, reported the arrival at Nootka Sound of a small vessel, with two masts, and black sides, which they thought to be the *Resolution*.

Reaching Port Cox, in Clayoquot Sound, they met Wickananish. He refused to board the ship unless two of the officers would remain ashore as hostages. He gave as his reason that his brother and two of the chiefs had been killed in 1792 by Captain Brown of the *Butterworth*, who had fired on them because they had not

returned presents equivalent to those he had given. No one can say what the truth was; Ingraham in his Log of the *Hope*, gives under date August 8, 1792, two variants of the story. Wickananish also complained that Captain Gray had lent him a great coat and had later threatened to kill his people unless they delivered to the amount of its value. He, however, spoke well of Captain Kendrick, then lying at Nookta. Ingraham has noted under date August 4, 1792, the fondness of the natives for Kendrick. He claims that it had a monetary basis; they could dispose of their skins to Kendrick at exorbitant prices, which no other trader would give. In the end, while refusing to step on the ship, Wickananish agreed that his brother remain on board as a hostage whilst the trade went on ashore.

As Captain Roberts examined Clayoquot Sound he discovered what other people had learned; that Meares's chart was quite unlike the reality. The *Jefferson* remained until 16th June, but the trade was very light—8 or 10 skins a day. After a tedious passage of five days the ship on 22nd June entered Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. A Spanish ship, the *San Carlos*, and the *Amelia*, an American brig from Providence, Rhode Island, lay there at anchor. The *Resolution* had arrived five weeks before and was now at Marvinas Bay (Mowinna) about four miles from Friendly Cove. There also lay the *Lady Washington*, Captain John Kendrick. We can well believe that he was overjoyed when the *Resolution* arrived with his second son Solomon as second in command. Soon after the *Jefferson* anchored in Friendly Cove, Kendrick and his supercargo, John Howel, came on a visit from Marvinas Bay. On 23rd June arrived from the northward the English brig, *Three Brothers*, Captain Alder. She had practically disposed of all her trading goods; had some 500 prime sea-otter skins in her hold; and was on the eve of departure for China. Magee says that Captain Alder very freely gave them information about the northern trade.

On 29th June the *Jefferson* sailed to the northward in company with the *Resolution*, Burling; the *Amelia*, Trotter; and the *Three Brothers*, Alder. Captain Kendrick in the *Lady Washington* remained at Friendly Cove; Kendrick was always leisurely in his movements. The next day the *Jefferson* spoke the English schooner, *Prince William Henry*, Captain Ewen, from Queen Charlotte Islands. As the *Jefferson* slowly made her way towards those islands the smith was kept at work making iron collars and large tin kettles. Doubtless the captain expected to reap a harvest similar to that

which Ingraham had obtained with iron collars, two years before. By arrangement the schooner took the easterly shore whilst the ship kept the ocean side of the islands.

On 4th July, the *Jefferson* anchored in Coyah's harbor: Houston-Stewart Channel. There Magee saw an Indian boldly wearing the jacket of one of the crew of the *Amelia* who had been recently murdered. The natives had many sea-otter skins, but would not part with them except for dressed moose skins—leather war garments, by them called Clemons. Continuing along the western side the ship found no trade and on 12th July moored in North Passage: Cunneah's Harbor. Here, as usual, there were many skins but having fixed the rate of barter at a coat and trousers, or an over-coat, for a skin they only obtained sixty. Had they been prepared to meet the Indians' demand they could easily have procured 300 skins. For two sheets of copper weighing 60 pounds each they received 12 prime skins. An Indian who had taken a fancy to the captain's sea trunk got it for one prime skin. As we shall see there was nothing on the ship that did not have its price.

On 20th July, whilst preparing to leave Cunneah's, Captain Roberts heard of a vessel at anchor outside the harbor. She proved to be the schooner *Jane*, Captain Newbury, of Boston. She had sailed from her home port on 29th November and reached Queen Charlotte Islands on 6th July. Newbury was giving two fathoms of double width cloth for a prime skin. Two years later poor Newbury was accidentally killed by the discharge of a pistol in the hands of a friendly chief; and by an irony of fate when Péron in the *Otter* reached the vicinity he found an Indian using the headboard (with the inscription still legible) as a seat for his canoe.

From Cunneah's the *Jefferson* sailed northward along the Alaskan coast. On 25th July she was at Bucareli Bay, Alaska, where she found the *Amelia* and the *Resolution*. Here skins were plentiful; but the price was deemed excessive. The *Resolution* had collected 25 skins, 5 cutsarks (or robes, usually of three skins,) and 20 tails. These were transferred to the *Jefferson*. Finding that only thick copper (of which he had none) and tanned moose skins (of which, also, he had none) were current, Roberts determined to send the *Resolution* to the Columbia River to collect the latter. The crew were set to work to burn charcoal for the manufacture of iron collars, which was the only form in which iron was saleable. The seine was drawn; many salmon were caught; and a smoke house erected to cure them. Though the *Jefferson* remained for nearly a month she obtained only 24 skins, each of which cost a musket and

two pounds of powder or 1½ yards of cloth 1½ yards wide and two or three iron collars. Two years before Ingraham had secured five prime skins for each iron collar; but then the fashion was new.

The season being now well advanced the *Jefferson* sailed for Barkley Sound where she arrived on 7th September. There Captain Roberts was surprised to meet the *Resolution*. That speedy little schooner had been to the Columbia (or Gray's River, as they called it) and obtained 63 sea-otter skins, superior to any that had been collected, and 27 moose skins. She had expended all her copper and cloth—iron the natives did not want at any price. Solomon Kendrick, her second officer, showed Roberts a sketch of the river which differed greatly from that which he had been given at Nootka Sound.

The *Jefferson* then went into winter quarters and was laid up in ordinary. Throughout the winter trade went on in sea-otter and moose skins; 28 in one week and 21 in another; charcoal was burned for the use of the smith who busied himself in making iron swords for the Columbia River trade; mussel shells were burned to procure lime for tanning; sawyers were cutting planks, and carpenters repairing and making comfortable the ship for the winter. The *Resolution* sailed on 29th September on a trading cruise. Roberts agreed to sell her to Wickananish in the spring for 50 prime skins. Tetacus, the well known chief of Classet (Cape Flattery) visited the *Jefferson* late in September and having completed his trading took the opportunity to plunder the natives. The Indians borrowed the jolly boat and the Captain's cloak to go on a visit. So long were they absent that the ship's people thought that they had stolen the articles borrowed from them, but after an absence of about two weeks all were returned in good condition. Yet a sailor who went a-hunting was cut off and killed. The season's trade had yielded 21 cutsarks, 239 prime, and 70 small, sea-otter skins, 200 tails, exclusive of land otter and beaver, and 90 moose skins to be exchanged for sea otter.

On 23rd October the *Resolution* returned, having been unable because of bad weather to enter the Columbia. This completed her year's work. Trade in moose skins, in sea-otter skins, and in provisions went on through the winter. The moose skins were purchased at a musket each; but next year at Queen Charlotte Islands they brought three prime skins each. An effort was made to tan some of the larger seal skins from St. Ambrose Island as a substitute for moose skins; the log does not, however, throw any light on the success. The Indians, as usual, pettily pilfered but when

these pilferings became too bold the traders seized and held two of their chiefs until they paid for the stolen articles. The log complains that the rainfall was excessive, yet the December temperature, it states, was not so severe as April or May in New England.

In the winter trade Roberts gave 40 toes for a prime skin. Conditions had changed since Dixon and Gray had bought them for a toe each. To get the moose skins the Captain began now to strip his ship for materials for barter: two brass field pieces were given for two moose skins, and the jolly boat was loaned to enable the Indians to take the guns home. Even haiqua (*Dentalium Indianorum*) was not disdained—the natives on the Columbia River would gladly exchange a prime sea-otter skin for a fathom of those slender shells which could here be purchased for a pound of powder. Toes, though debased currency, were in great demand, and the smith began to manufacture them in large quantities. In the course of the winter 160 fathoms of haiqua were purchased from the different tribes at varying rates: a short jacket for a fathom, or a musket for six fathoms, or an iron sword for two fathoms. The wintering place was about six miles from the Indian village of Seshart; there a log house was built to protect the stores whilst the ship was being graved.

Anything that the Indians fancied on the *Jefferson* was for sale. Tetacus and his friends from Classet fixed their desires on the cabin carpet: it was theirs for five moose skins. By the end of February, 1794, the trade had brought 210 moose skins and some 200 otter skins, making of the latter a total of 440. But now all the cloth for barter was gone and for the season's business Roberts had only the moose skins, the haiqua, 60 sheets of copper, 400 iron swords, some iron collars, a few muskets and pistols, and a little powder. Not a large or appealing stock.

During March, 1794, great quantities of herring gave a delightful change of diet and at the same time saved the salt provisions.

Just when the vessels were ready to leave, a canoe belonging to the *Resolution* was stolen. The captain resolved on retaliation. As the wintering place was within six miles of Seshart it was thought that those people were the delinquents. In order to punish them for this and previous thefts a boat's crew was sent to their village. The canoe was demanded and, on threats of vengeance, returned, whereupon the traders fired on the natives, killing three and wounding two others. The remainder fled for safety from civilized man to the wild woods. Then the traders rummaged and ransacked the Indian houses, took a great quantity of their dried fish,

some toes, bits of copper, a musket, and some powder, tore down a number of their houses, stole six of the best canoes, and demolished some of the other large ones. It is impossible to justify such conduct; it is recounted here just as given in the log, where it is set forth as though it were something laudable. It was incidents like this that caused the so-called unprovoked attacks by the natives.

On 3rd April, 1794, the *Resolution* sailed for the Columbia: the people on the *Jefferson* saw her no more. About the middle of April the *Jefferson* set out to trade to the northward. By the 22nd she had reached a harbor a short distance from Skincuttle Inlet on the east coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. The log calls it Port Clinton, a spot at present unidentifiable, but visited and named by Captain Simon Metcalfe in the *Eleanora* in 1789. There the moose hides were the main support of trade. They were exchanged at the rate of one for three prime sea-otter skins. The armorer was busy making tin kettles to trade for fish: one kettle, one halibut. Soon the *Jefferson* reached Atli Inlet. Many whales were noticed. Iron collars, toes, and daggers had fallen so low as mediums of trade that they would only procure halibut. Already Roberts was looking for the return of the *Resolution*; he left a letter for her captain, Burling, on 13th May, with an Indian Chief.

The *Jefferson* proceeded to Cumschewa, where she found good trade. In one day, for example, they procured 7 cutsarks, 94 sea-otter skins, and 57 tails. A swivel was traded for two skins, and soon another swivel went the same road. Gradually the *Jefferson* made her way along the coast northward to Cunneah's Harbor (North Island, Parry Passage), where she arrived on 19th May, but Cunneah and the greater part of his tribe were still at their winter village, Kaigahnee, on Dall Island. Skins were plentiful at Cunneah's in fact an embargo had to be placed on trade until fresh fish were procured for the ship's crew. The brewing of spruce beer was begun here: this seems to show fear of scurvy. Here a barrel of seal oil from St. Ambrose brought four skins; while a table cloth and sheets produced one skin each, and the cabin curtains two skins.

About the end of May, Cawe, Cunneah, Eldarge, and Skilkada the head tribal chiefs with their people arrived from Tattisco in Kaigahnee, with their canoes full of sea-otter skins: probably 800. In the six weeks since leaving Barkley Sound the sea-otter skins had increased to 1146; but now with all this wealth around them the *Jefferson* had little to offer in trade. The last moose skin brought six sea-otter skins. Now, something must be done. Something for

barter must be had. Here the Yankee genius for swapping asserted itself. The worn-out lower studding sails brought four skins; a Japanese flag went on the bargain counter for one skin. Seal oil, old sails, old clothing of officers and crew, all went into the melting pot. The cabin looking-glass and the officer's trunks followed them. The carpenter was set to work to make boxes, or trunks as they called them. A deep sea line, an old top-gallant studding sail, and ten rockets came into hand as trading goods. Seal oil seemed to be legal tender; but anything was current—more old sails and trunks were exchanged. Then Captain Roberts opened out as merchant tailor: a mizzen top-mast studding sail, a flying jib, and other sails were transformed into women's garments. Swivels and muskets helped to swell the trade. All this time Roberts each day scanned the horizon for the *Resolution* with the clamons (moose skins) so urgently needed. On 13th June, the Indians brought word of a vessel's being in sight and asked if it were the long-looked for schooner. The captain hastened to the look-out but could discern nothing. He concluded that it was merely an Indian ruse to ascertain whether any vessel were really expected. Day by day the tailor cut up any and every worn-out sail to fabricate women's garments, which sold for a prime skin each, just as fast as he could make them. And day by day the carpenter manufactured boxes, by courtesy called in the log trunks, and they found an equally hungry market.

Still there were furs to the right of him and furs to the left of him, but the purchasing power was gradually reaching the zero point. Then came a lucky thought—such of the ship's crockery as could be spared was changed into fur. To ingratiate themselves and to aid the trade the captain with the carpenter and some of the crew went to the village to plane and smooth a totem pole. The next day they returned with two spare top-masts and the necessary tackle to raise the pole and set it in position. The chief Cunneah was so delighted that he invited the captain and his officers to a feast. There he publicly thanked them and in token of his appreciation gave them each a prime sea-otter skin—which probably found their way into the *Jefferson's* capacious maw. Later Cunneah asked Captain Roberts to have the pole painted, which he did. The ship's doctor too, was called in to treat a patient; but the log throws no light on the disease. It is assumed that the treatment was successful, nothing to the contrary being stated.

Old sails being almost exhausted, Roberts now hit upon the idea of using some of the ship's light duck. He made it into a sail for a canoe and disposed of it for three prime skins. Oddly enough the

Indians had not evolved the use of sails when Captain Cook arrived. The log is interesting it reads:

"Purchased from them 9 skins being mostly for the middle stay sail made into women's garments—being the last of the light sails that we could possibly spair—having disposed in the same manner of 3 top-gallant steering sails, one top mast and two lower Ditto, the flying jibb & mizzen top mast Stay sail—the whole of which procured about 40 prime skins—in short every thing that could be spaired on board were purchass'd up by the natives with the greatest Evidity—seemed in want of Every thing the got thire Eye on Excepting Iron which was in little or no Demand which we Could no more than purchass fish with & then was oblidged to work it up into different trinkets to thire fancy—& I have no dout if we had a sufficiency of trade—Cloth thick copper &c—that there might be percured at this place between 1000 & 1500 Skins—of the best quality—as we have already procured upwards of 400 Skins—& that only with the drags—of all our trade—which we had no right to suppose according to the prices given the last season—to Command more then 150 Skins we have disposed of articles in this port this year that would not even Draw there atention the last season—& at a very advantageous rate—and no End to the quantity of Skins brought on board and alongside Every Day for sale—of which we purchass dayly a few with some article or other." (June 23, 1794)

Still the skins abounded; and something must be found for barter: a small setting seine, a small boat anchor, a powder horn and some of the Captain's old clothes became currency. While this trade was going on there were rumors of a ship in the offing. One can readily imagine Captain Roberts' anxiety, knowing that on the appearance of a vessel with proper goods not another skin would come to the *Jefferson*. His bar iron was unsaleable, but he bethought himself of transforming it into bangles for the adornment of the women. Twenty such bangles he exchanged for one prime skin. So engrossed were they in the trade that the Glorious Fourth passed by practically unnoticed.

On 8th July, at Cunneah's request men were sent to raise and place a carved figure on the top of the totem pole lately erected. This figure was "cut and carved with a great deal of art, being the representation of some wild animal unknown to us, somewhat the resemblance of a toad." The following day the captain, doctor, and purser went to the village to attend to a potlatch. As it is believed that this is the earliest description of such an event amongst the Haidas no apology is offered for its reproduction:

"The house was thronged with guests and spectators. The scene was then opened by the ceremony of introducing the wives of Enow and Cunneah (two of the chiefs) and the candidates for incision or boring, each coming in separately and backwards from behind the scenes—being saluted by a regular vocal music of all present and which had no unpleasant effect. In the same manner the presents were ushered in and displayed to the view of all present and thrown together in a heap being a profuse collection of Clamons (war garments), racoons and other cutsarks, comstagas both iron and copper and a variety of ornaments. This being done the spectators were dismissed and the guests placed in order round the house. The incision was then performed on the lips and noses of two grown and two small girls which ended the distribution was then begun of the above articles, the Captain receiving 5 otter skins the other articles were distributed among the different chiefs according to their distinction, after which the Capt. took his leave and returned onboard."

Still the trade went along. Skins were being offered and anything on board was currency: a large pitch pot and sixty pounds of two-inch rope brought two prime skins each: twenty-nine trunks made by the carpenter sold as fast as they were completed. On the 17th arrived the bark, *Phoenix* of Bengal, Captain Hugh Moore. He had left Bengal seven months before and had since his arrival on the coast been trading to the northward. He reported that Captain Kendrick in the *Lady Washington* had secured a large number of skins and disposed of all his goods, but was still at Norfolk Sound (Sitka). From Captain Moore they learned of the execution of Louis XVI in January, 1793. This ship remained until the 28th and, of course in that interval the *Jefferson* obtained not a skin.

The log then contains a lengthy account of a difference between its writer, Bernard Magee, and Captain Roberts. It appears that Captain Moore of the *Phoenix* discharged at this place his second officer, a Mr. Dumarez. Magee later entered into some arrangement with the dismissed officer for his influence in inducing Cunneah to purchase the *Jefferson's* long boat for 35 skins. In this effort Magee took Dumarez below to treat him to a glass of grog. This intimacy aroused the anger of Captain Roberts and hot words followed; however, in the end the long boat was sold for the 35 skins. On 1st August the *Jenny* of Bristol, now a ship, under Captain Adamson, anchored in Cloak Bay, just outside Cunneah's harbor where the *Jefferson* lay. From her Captain Roberts learned the

supposed fate of his little schooner, the *Resolution*, but that is a story to be told separately.

On 4th August, Joseph Cain, carpenter, and Thomas Kilby, seaman, and on 15th a Chinese who had been taken aboard at Nookta in 1793, all deserted the *Jefferson* at Kaigahnee. That port was a great meeting place of the trading vessels and, consequently, a great clearing house for sailors. Whilst the *Phoenix* and the *Jenny* were in the vicinity the *Jefferson*, as was to be expected, did not trade, for she had nothing but her equipment to offer in exchange for furs—all her trading goods having been, long since, exhausted. The ship had now, besides the 13,000 seal skins obtained at St. Ambrose Island, more than 1,400 sea-otter skins on board, over and above sea-otter tails and the skins of land animals.

All efforts were now directed towards preparation for the departure for China, by way of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. The skins were all got out, cleaned, aired, and carefully repacked; the hold was restowed; the masts and yards all examined carefully; the running rigging all rebent; the ship was laid on shore and graved; water was put on board and fifteen cords of fine alder for the galley stove. During this time, nevertheless, a sporadic barter went on, which in the end brought the sea-otter skins to a grand total of 1,475. Finally on 16th August, 1794, all was ready for sea and at eight o'clock on the morning of 17th the *Jefferson* unmoored in company with the *Jenny*. At 11 o'clock, when clear of Kaigahnee Harbor, with three cheers to the *Jenny*, she spread her sails to a light easterly breeze and stretched away towards the "Paradise of the Pacific" on the first section of her long homeward voyage.

The *Jefferson* was a slow sailer, for it was not until the 20th September that the land of Hawaii appeared above the horizon at the distance of five leagues. Thirty-three days was certainly a long voyage from the coast to the "islands." The usual time was about twenty-one days. During the night of 24th September the *Jefferson* ran upon a reef in Kawaihae Bay, Hawaii, but into the details of that story we will not enter. Those who would do so will find them fully set forth in my address at the Sesquicentennial celebration of Captain Cook in Honolulu in 1928. On October 13, 1794, the *Jefferson* sailed from Kealakelua Bay for China.

In La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis*, tome 3, pp. 19-38 (Paris, An vii) is a short account of this voyage. It is there stated that the *Jefferson* reached Canton, November 25, 1794, where she remained exchanging her furs and skins for teas,

nankeens, etc., until February 12, 1795. On that date she sailed direct for Boston by way of the Cape of Good Hope and arrived at her home port on July 28, 1795, after an absence of about three years and nine months. The materials presently available throw no light upon the financial result of the voyage, further than to show that it was a profitable one, but not equal to that made by the *Margaret*, which, it is believed, had returned about \$10,000 for each one-eighth share.

F.W. HOWAY

SETTLEMENT OF THE CLAIMS IN WASHINGTON OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE PUGET'S SOUND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY

The claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company were first recognized by the United States in the Treaty of 1846¹ between Great Britain and the United States, as negotiated and arranged by James Buchanan, Secretary of State for the United States, and Right Honorable Richard Pak-enham, member of the British Privy Council and Envoy Extra-ordinary and Minister Plenitrotentiary to the United States. Articles II, III and IV are those in which the companies' claims are recognized by the United States. The articles are in substance as follows:

Article II. Free navigation, to the Hudson's Bay Company, of the Columbia River and its tributaries from point where the 49th degree of latitude crosses the Grand Eddy, the great northern branch of the Columbia, to the Pacific Ocean.

Article III. Confirmation of the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company south of 49°, within the territory of the United States.

Article IV. Confirmation to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company of farms, lands and other property belonging to the company, north of the Columbia River and to the United States the right to take it at a proper valuation to be agreed on between the two parties concerned, if the property becomes of "public and political importance to the United States."

From 1848 to 1863, when a treaty was made with England for the settlement of the claims,² many requests were made to Congress to buy these possessory rights of the two companies. On July 10, 1848, Sir George Simpson, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, let it be known to Congress that the company was anxious to sell because of England's fear of disputes over the rights, which might lead to differences between the nations; hence, the company was willing to sacrifice its rights for \$1,000,000.³ In the same year, in answer to a resolution of the Senate, on July 31st, President Polk's message to Congress included a report of the Secretary of State

1 Malloy, *Treaties and Conventions, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers*. Vol. I, pages 657-658.

2 Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers*. Vol. I, pp. 657-658.

3 Senate Documents 31st C. 2nd S. Vol. 3, Doc. no. 20, pp. 3-4.

with documents concerning the claims.⁴ President Fillmore's message to Congress on February 3, 1851 was similar.⁵

On September 18, 1848, Viscount Palmerston, taking a different attitude, sent word to Sir William Pelly to the effect that he was not willing for the British Government to surrender the rights of navigation of the Columbia; that the Hudson's Bay Company could not sell it for the sale could only be negotiated by treaty between the United States Government and the British Crown.⁶ On October 11, 1850 Sir William Pelly wrote to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, to the effect that seizure by United States military officers of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessel and store at Nisqually (really the property of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, a company subsidiary to the Hudson's Bay Company and often included under the term Hudson's Bay Company⁷) hastened the necessity for transferring possessory rights to the United States; that part of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's land was already occupied by United States' troops, so was of public and political importance to the United States; that the purchase price was not so important and that it would be advisable to leave the price to the judgment of two parties,—one appointed by the United States and one by the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, who should call in a third party as umpire should they not agree.⁸ It is interesting to note that this was the plan later provided by the Treaty of 1863.⁹

Twice the Legislature of Oregon Territory, on July 20, 1849 and again January 6, 1851, sent memorials to Congress to purchase the claims since the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was resisting the efforts of American settlers to locate on the unenclosed lands¹⁰ to which the company, according to the legislature, had no right.¹¹

The report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, November 26, 1851, mentioned the necessity of the Surveyor General of Oregon's obtaining from the companies evidence of the rights they may claim to be protected by the Treaty of 1846 and evidence of the original localities and boundaries of the same, which

⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IV, p. 603. Edition of Joint Committee of Congress, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VI, p. 2453.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 2633.

⁶ Senate Documents, 31st C. 2nd S. Vol. 3, no. 20, pp. 10-11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXVIII, *History of the Northwest Coast*, Vol. II, p. 614-615.

⁹ Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers*, Vol. I, pp. 657-658.

¹⁰ Senate Miscellaneous, 31st C. 2nd S., no. 5, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

they held at the time of the treaty. The report recommended that provision be made by Congress for "prompt summary and final adjustment of the said claims in order that all within the purview of the treaty may be respected; and the United States protected from any not within its stipulations."¹²

The memorial of the Washington Legislature to Congress in 1854 asked Congress to ascertain the rights of the company and to purchase them, since the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company had commanded American settlers to vacate unenclosed lands over which the company's herds occasionally roamed, although these same settlers had improved this land.¹³

Governor I. I. Stevens of Washington Territory, in 1854, said that the company claimed the right of felling timber in the forests, of grazing large tracts of unenclosed pasture and prairie land with immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep.

In his third annual message to Congress, December 31, 1855, President Franklin Pierce mentioned misunderstanding as to the extent, character, and value of the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies and, to terminate the question, advocated cession to the United States of the rights of both companies, which could be obtained at reasonable terms. He asked for Congress' attention to the subject.¹⁴

On August 14, 1864, A. G. Henry, Surveyor General of Washington Territory, evidently not having received news of the negotiating of the treaty of July 1, 1863, in a letter to J. M. Edmunds, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington, D.C., called attention to the necessity for a survey of the lands of the Puget's Sound Agricultural "Society," at that time occupied by more than one thousand settlers, many of whom had made large and valuable improvements in the land. He added that the whole Territory was annoyed by conflicts between the American settlers and the company and asked for prompt and decisive interference by the United States government.¹⁵

In answer to these many requests, came the treaty of July 1, 1863, between Great Britain and the United States, providing, since it was desirable to transfer the companies' claims to the United States, for the appointment of commissioners by each country with-

12 Executive Documents 32nd C. 1st S. p. 7.

13 *Washington Journal, Council*, 1854, pp. 184-185. Senate Documents, 33rd C. 2nd S. Vol. 7, no. 37, p. 7.

14 Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, p. 333. Edition by Joint Committee of House and Senate. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol VII, p. 2866.

15 *Messages and Documents, Department of Interior*, 1863-64, p. 95.

in twelve months. These men were to decide upon all claims arising out of provisions of the Treaty of 1846. They were to meet in Washington, D.C. at the earliest convenience. If necessary, they were to name an umpire to decide cases on which they differed or name the King of Italy if they couldn't decide on an umpire. The commissioners' decision of the claims would be final and put into execution at once. All sums awarded were to be paid by one government to the other in two equal installments, the first in twelve months after the award and the second in twenty-four months after the award, "without interest and without any deduction whatsoever."¹⁶

This convention was presented on December 16, 1863, by President Lincoln to the Senate for ratification.¹⁷ On March 14, 1864, President Lincoln recommended to Congress an appropriation to carry into effect articles I, II and III of this convention.¹⁸ ([See Treaty of 1863], Meaning for the contingent expenses and salary of umpire of the Joint International Commission provided for in the treaty). On December 6, 1864, President Lincoln mentioned in his fourth annual message to Congress that the Joint Commission was at work on the matter assigned to it.¹⁹ President Johnson in his fourth annual message to Congress, December 9, 1868, mentioned that the examination of claims was proceeding under the direction of the Joint International Commission, which would probably conclude its work soon.²⁰ However it was not till September 10, 1869, that the work of the commissioners was completed and the award made.²¹

The commissioners were Alexander Johnson of the United States and John Rose of Great Britain.²¹ During the sittings of the Commission, many and various were the arguments presented by both interested parties. The following propositions were presented by the Hudson's Bay Company in support of its argument:

- I. Possessory rights under Treaty of 1846 to be respected.
- II. "Possessory rights" was everything of appreciable value:
 1. Posts and establishments.
 2. Right of trade.
 3. Right of navigation of Columbia and its tributaries.

¹⁶ Malloy, *Treaties and Conventions*, Vol. I, p. 689-690.

¹⁷ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VI, 194. Edition by Joint Committee of House and Senate, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VIII, p. 3395.

¹⁸ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VI, p. 200. Edition by Joint Committee of House and Senate, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VIII, p. 3401.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 3447.

²⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 3888.

²¹ Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers*, Vol. I, pp. 690-691.

III. Possessory rights were of the value stated in the memorial.

IV. That the United States not only had failed to protect the Hudson's Bay Company's rights but United States officers and citizens under authority of United States government had violated and usurped them.

V. That the United States was now liable to the Hudson's Bay Company for the highest value of the rights at any time between 1846 and the producing of the claim in 1865, and that this value ought to be the right amount to be awarded.²²

After due consideration Commissioner Rose declared that he was bound to adopt the conclusion that, since the functions of the commissioners were limited to the third and fourth articles of the Treaty of 1846, any right of navigation secured by article II of the Oregon Treaty was beyond the jurisdiction of their commission.²³ This left only the question of the trading rights and the value of the posts and establishments, for consideration by the Commission.

There was a great divergence in the acreage also in the valuation of the possessory rights as figured by the companies and by the witnesses for the United States, as well as differences in the valuation given by the companies at different dates. For example, the Earl of Berens in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon in 1857, stated that the assessor's books listed the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's property at \$670,000;²⁴ in 1865 the company was claiming \$1,168,000.²⁵ The possessory rights of this company principally included, according to its memorial to the Joint International Commission, a tract at Nisqually of 167,000 acres and a farm at Cowlitz River of about 3,572 acres. Governor I. I. Stevens of Washington Territory in a report, in 1854, to Secretary of State Marcy valued the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's rights, which included, according to the claims of the company in 1854, enclosed and unenclosed pasture and prairie land to the amount of 8,000 acres for Cowlitz farm and 800 square miles for Nisqually territory, at \$180,000 and the Hudson's Bay Company's rights at \$120,000 or \$300,000 for the entire claim.²⁶ The \$1,168,000 for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, as quoted above, included \$50,000 for

²² *British and American Commission for Settlement of Claims of Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agriculture Company, Memorial and Agreement on Part of Hudson Bay Company.* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868) Vol. V, (University of Washington Library), pp. 8 and 9.

²³ *Report of Navy and Postmaster General,* 41st C. 2nd S., 1869-70, p. XXXII.

²⁴ Photostat Addition to Doc. Evidence of Joint Interstate Commission, University of Washington Library, G5, p. 187.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

²⁶ *Report of Navy and Postmaster General,* 41st C. 2nd S. 1869-70, p. XXXV.

²⁶ Senate Documents, 33rd C. 2nd S., Vol. 7, no. 37, pp. 11-12.

loss of livestock due to encroachment by American citizens.²⁷ For instance, William F. Tolmie, agent for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually, in a list of losses due to American encroachment included among others the following: enclosed land under cultivation taken, rails from sheep folds taken, and shooting of Company's cattle and even riding horses when near American houses or enclosures.²⁸ In a memorial to Congress in 1854, the Legislature of Washington Territory states that when the Treaty of 1846 was ratified, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's property at Cow-litz and Nisqually was not more than 2000 acres but now, 1854, the company claims 227 square miles.²⁹ In 1855, Mr. Tolmie gives the acreage for Nisqually alone as 161,000 acres.³⁰ Jesse Applegate in a letter to Governor Gibbs of Oregon, in 1865, stated that the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Joint International Commission, April 8, 1865, was not correct since it valued improvements at Vancouver at £5000 when they were really worth only \$1000.³¹ In this memorial the Hudson's Bay Company claimed for value of posts and loss of profit \$1,388,703.33, for loss of right to trade \$973,333.33, for right to navigate the Columbia \$1,460,000, making a total claim of \$3,822,036.67—and as amended,* \$4,281,-936.67.³² This sum added to the Puget's Sound Company's claim of \$1,168,000 totaled \$5,449,936.67 for the claims of the two companies as presented in their memorials to the Joint International Commission.

It might be interesting here to note that of the fourteen posts or properties ennumerated in the memorial, six; namely Fort Vancouver, Fort George, post at Umpqua, Fort Nez Perce (Walla Walla), Fort Hall and post at Boise had either been abandoned or taken over by the United States army officers or American settlers, that part of the post at Cape Disappointment had been taken by the United States officers for a light-house and other public purposes, and that the other seven; namely, Champoeg, and the posts at Cow-

²⁷ Photostat Additions to Documentary Evidence of Joint International Commission, University of Washington Library, pp. 26-29.

²⁸ Senate Documents, 33rd C. 2nd S., Vol. 7, no. 37, pp.14-15.

²⁹ *Washington Journal, Council*, 1854, p. 184.

³⁰ *Executive Documents* 34th C. 1st S., Vol. I, p. 152.

³¹ Photostat Additions to Documentary Evidence of Joint International Commission, University of Washington Library.

*Amounts for Vancouver and Colville increased by motion to amend made by the Hudson's Bay Company. See reference for thirty-two pages IV to X.

³² *British and American Joint Commission for Settlement of Claims of Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company, Memorial and Agreement in part of Hudson's Bay Company.* (Montreal: John Lovell 1868), Vol. V, (University of Washington), pp. X, XI, XIV.

litz, Chinook, Okanagan, Colville, Kootanais and Flat-Heads were still, in 1865, in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company.³³

As to offers made before 1865, the United States offered to pay \$1,000,000 for the Hudson's Bay Company's rights, including the right to navigation of the Columbia. This was expressed in a convention prepared by Daniel Webster in 1852.³⁴ On the other hand, the Hudson's Bay Company, through Mr. Lyons, in 1860 agreed to accept \$500,000 in full of their demands.³⁴

Since the evidence of the claimant's witnesses made claims considerably in excess of the sum the company was once ready to accept, and the evidence adduced by the United States reduced the claims to an insignificant sum,³⁴ Mr. Rose, anxious not to prevent settlement,³⁴ made the award \$450,000 for the Hudson's Bay Company and \$200,000 for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, or \$650,000 in all. The same award was made by Mr. Johnson. The sum of \$650,000 was to be paid by the United States to the government of Great Britain as specified in the Treaty of 1863. Before payment, or at the time of, each company was to deliver to the United States a sufficient deed or transfer and release, the form for which was annexed to the award. Thus the award was made by the Joint International Commission on September 10, 1869.³⁵

On December 6, 1869, President Grant notified Congress of the award, of the extinguishing of the titles and rights of the company to territory in the United States and of the delivery of the deeds for the property of this company; and asked for an appropriation by Congress to meet the award of \$650,000.³⁶

On March 24, 1870, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State called the attention of George Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, to the fact that the first installment of the award would become payable on September 10, 1870, according to the Treaty of 1863.³⁷ Two days later, the Secretary of the Treasury in a letter to James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House, asked for an appropriation to pay this part of the award.³⁷ This was accordingly appropriated and the first installment paid by the United States as stipulated.³⁸

³³ *British and American Joint Commission for Settlement of Claims of Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company, Memorial and Agreements on part of Hudson's Bay Company.* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868.) Vol. V, University of Washington, pp. IV to X.

³⁴ Report of Secretary of Navy and Postmaster General, 41st C. 2nd S. p. XXXIII.

³⁵ Report of Secretary of Navy and Postmaster General, 41st C. 2nd S., p. XXXIII.

³⁶ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VII, p. 35. Edition by Joint Commission of House and Senate Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. Iff., p. 3989.

³⁷ Executive Documents, no 220, 41st C. 2nd S., p. 1-2.

³⁸ *Messages and Reports of Departments of Foreign Relations of the United States*, 42nd C. 2nd S., p. 534.

On February 21, 1871, Congress appropriated \$350,000 for payment in gold coin of the last installment of the award to the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies and attached a proviso that before payment was made, all taxes assessed on the property covered by the award and still unpaid, be paid or the amount of such taxes be withheld by the United States Government from the sum appropriated.³⁹

The second payment on the award was made without any deduction of taxes, so Congress on May 24, 1872, requested the President of the United States to communicate to the House the reasons for the violating of the proviso of the act of February 21, 1871.⁴⁰ However the Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, had been fully persuaded before September 10, 1871, the date upon which the second payment was due, that the taxes of \$50,000 assessed by Pierce County, Washington, against the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was not the one referred to by Congress since the United States could only assess Federal taxes, according to an opinion rendered by Justice A. T. Akerman, Department of Justice, in a letter to Secretary Fish on August 7, 1871.⁴¹ Mr. Fish also received from J. H. Hartley, acting Secretary of Treasury, on September 2, 1871, a copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, J. W. Douglas, stating that no taxes had been legally assessed and remained unpaid to the United States on property of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company up to the time of the award in 1869.⁴²

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³⁹ House Miscellaneous, no. 222, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Messages and Reports of Departments Foreign Relations of United States*, 42nd C. 2nd S., p. 539.

⁴¹ *Messages and Reports of Departments Foreign Relations of the United States*, 42nd C. 2nd S., p. 540.

POPULISM IN WASHINGTON: A STUDY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1897

The Populist movement in the State of Washington was of political significance for a period of some years, although its striking success occurred in the campaign of 1896. Populist members began to make their appearance in the legislature as early as 1893, when eight populists were elected to the lower house,¹ and did not completely vanish from the legislative halls until after the session of 1901, when the terms of the last two populist senators expired.² A study of the numerical apportionment of the legislature between parties during the period above mentioned shows clearly that the Populist fortunes were rising steadily until their virtual triumph in 1896 and that they declined as steadily thereafter. The eight representatives elected in 1893 increased to twenty in 1895 and were augmented by three senators.³ It must be noted, however, that the Republican majorities in both houses were larger in 1895 than in 1893, so that these figures are chiefly of significance as showing the growing identification of the political opposition in the State with populism.

In 1896 the "People's Party" carried the State. It elected a majority in both houses of the legislature and named the governor and his administrative subordinates. But in 1896 the name "People's Party" upon the ballot represented not merely populism, but a fusion party which included the Silver Republicans and Democrats as well. Populist predominance was by no means so great as the election results would indicate.

By 1898, the tide had turned. Again fusion was resorted to by the three parties, but it is significant that the ticket appeared on the ballot as "Democratic,"⁴ and that in spite of the combination the Republicans carried the house of representatives by a large majority.⁵ Only the nine holdover Populist senators prevented a Republican majority in the upper house, but three new Populist senators being elected.⁶ In 1900 a third fusion ticket was put in the field⁷ but did not prevent the Republicans from electing substantial major-

¹ Washington Public Documents, 1893, *Report of the Secretary of State*, pp. 12-13.

² *Ibid.* 1901.

³ *Ibid.* 1895.

⁴ *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1898, p. 287.

⁵ H. of Reps. *Journal*, 1899, p. 1010.

⁶ Sen. *Journal*, 1899, p. 716. Two holdover senators (Plummer, High) who labelled themselves Democrats on this occasion called themselves Populists in 1896. This evident attempt to get out of the populist party while it was still alive is indicative of the change in its fortunes.

ties to both houses of the legislature. Two holdover senators were all that remained to represent the Populists in the Washington legislature, and with the expiration of their terms Populism vanished from the Washington political arena. After 1900 the party did not put a ticket in the field.

When we turn to examine the striking political success of the Populists in the campaign of 1896 it soon becomes evident that the tide was not so completely or so strongly Populist as a preliminary survey might indicate. Following the lead of the national parties, all the free-silver groups in Washington united for campaign purposes in 1896. Fusion in Washington, however, even after the St. Louis convention, was not achieved without struggle. Chairman Bulger of the Populist state central committee—a so-called "middle of the road" Populist⁸—was freely accused of trying to prevent fusion. His delay in fixing the time and place for the State Convention was regarded as an effort to force the Democrats and Silver Republicans to act independently.⁹ Any such intention, however, was checkmated by the action of the other parties in calling their conventions to meet at the same time and place as that of the people's party.¹⁰

The three parties met in separate conventions at Ellensburg on August 12. It was obvious from the beginning that the excitement would center about the Populist assemblage, where a bitter fight against fusion was predicted.¹¹ Temporarily, however, the conflict was transferred to a joint conference committee which was promptly created for the purpose of drafting a fusion agreement. It now appeared that the allocation of offices between the three groups was the chief source of friction. The Populists, commanding as they did the greatest strength among the electorate, demanded a heavy preponderance of the nominees.¹² No great difficulty was encountered in distributing the minor offices, but a heavy conflict ensued in connection with the governorship and the two congressional positions. Early in the proceedings the two latter were divided between the Silver Republicans and the Populists. The Democrats, disappointed here, made a bitter fight in behalf of their

7 *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1900, under "Washington."

8 This term implied extreme rather than moderate Populism.

9 *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane), July 28, 1896.

10 The Populist call was issued July 27 and was followed by the two others within the space of a few days.

11 Many Populists felt that their chance of carrying the state election independently was good and that fusion involved needless sacrifice. See an estimate of the prevalence of this view quoted in the *Spokesman-Review*, July 2, 1896, from the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*. The latter paper, solidly Republican in sympathy, had no leaning toward any movement which might make for Populist success. Its estimate of Populist strength was undoubtedly a conservative one.

12 The three proposed tickets are listed in *Spokesman-Review*, July 14, 1896.

gubernatorial candidate, Colonel James Hamilton Lewis. Bickering was prolonged all day July 13, but on the following morning, after a conference with Colonel Lewis, the Democrats conceded the governorship, and fusion seemed assured.¹³

The conference committee report was now submitted to the three conventions. Satisfied with their representation on the fusion ticket, the Silver Republicans and Populists promptly ratified the report. The Democrats, however, gave it a stormy reception, noisily threatening to put a full ticket in the field if the Populists did not give up the congressman awarded them by the committee, and refusing to consider conciliation on any other basis. Rupture seemed imminent, but during the day of August 14 a joint committee of Silver Republicans and Democrats prevailed upon the Populists to give way, and at ten o'clock that night the Democratic Convention accepted the revised apportionment and made its nominations, the long fought for place on the ballot going to Colonel Lewis.¹⁴

The Silver Republican Convention also nominated its candidates without delay and without friction, although there was some rivalry for the congressional nomination. In the Populist Convention a hot fight ensued over the governorship. H. N. Belt, Populist Mayor of Spokane, C. W. Young of Colfax and John R. Rogers of Puyallup were the contestants in a three-cornered race finally won by the last when Young withdrew in his favor. The intrigues which preceded this outcome disclosed serious dissensions among the Populists. Rogers had many bitter enemies in the party ranks. The King County delegates in particular displayed great hostility, even combining with Spokane representatives in an effort to select Belt. Two efforts to discredit Rogers were noteworthy. His popularity in the eastern counties was attacked by an accusation that he had "sold out" to the Pierce County machine in the matter of removing the capital from Olympia, a scheme which intrigued the fancies of many Populists. Another maneuver was the inclusion in the preliminary draft of the platform of a resolution condemning all state officers who had ever used free railroad passes as having "betrayed the trust reposed in them by the party." Rogers was widely supposed to have used a pass when a member of the legislature. This phrase, however, was eliminated in the final draft, at the instance, it was said, of Rogers' supporters.¹⁵ These backfires against the

13 Lewis evidently regarded further struggle in the committee as futile and preferred to bargain with the Democratic convention at his back.

14 A full account of the proceedings is found in the *Spokesman-Review* for August 14 and 15. This newspaper will hereafter be cited as *Spokesman*.

15 These accusations were assiduously promulgated by the *Spokesman*.

Rogers candidacy were ineffective in view of his known high character and his wide reputation as a Populist pamphleteer and as the author of the "barefoot school boy law."

Nominations for the other state offices went off quietly, the only serious contest being over the lieutenant-governorship, for which Belt was again an aspirant.¹⁶

The three conventions adopted separate platforms, that of the Populists being the longest and most thorough-going in its demands. Save in the case of the single-tax plank, the details aroused little controversy. As finally approved the platform called for the enactment into law of propositions embodying reduction of excessive salaries of all state officers, lessened freight, passenger, telephone and telegraph rates within the state, adoption of the Torrens system of registering land titles, a system of non-interest bearing warrants receivable as taxes throughout the state, free school books supplies by the state, detailed regulation of foreclosures for debt, "liberal" exemption from taxation of personal property and improvements on land, an amendment to the state constitution embodying woman suffrage, and a law enforcing the constitutional prohibition of the use of railroad passes by officials. The convention condemned the state administration, affirmed its approval of the St. Louis and Omaha conventions, and advocated the protection of representative government by the enactment of a national referendum on important measures and the recall of national officers.¹⁷

The Silver Republican platform was similar but less outspoken. It demanded a law prohibiting the uses of passes, reduced railroad rates, the prohibition of deficiency judgments (one of several specific measures along this line advocated by the Populists), denounced the existing salary fund law, favored allowing taxpayers to pay taxes half in warrants, demanded revision of the constitution to relieve taxpayers of the burden of unnecessary judicial machinery, favored

16	The fusion ticket, as it finally appeared on the ballot, was as follows:	
Governor.....	John R. Rogers	Populist
Lieutenant-Governor.....	Thurston R. Daniels	Populist
Secretary of State.....	W. D. Jenkins	Populist
Auditor.....	Neal Cheatham	Populist
Treasurer.....	C. W. Young	Populist
Commissioner of Public Lands.....	Robert Bridges	Populist
Justice of Supreme Court.....	John B. Reavis	Democrat
State Printer.....	Gwin Hicks	Democrat
Attorney General.....	P. H. Winston	Silver Republican
Supt. of Public Instruction.....	F. J. Browne	Silver Republican
Congressman.....	W. C. Jones	Silver Republican
Congressman.....	J. Hamilton Lewis	Democrat
Presidential Elector.....	H. N. Caton	Democrat
Presidential Elector.....	J. N. Maxwell	Democrat
Presidential Elector.....	C. E. Cline	Populist
Presidential Elector.....	D. C. Newman	Populist

See *Spokesman*, Aug. 16, 1896.

17 *Spokesman*, August 14, 1896.

woman suffrage, the Torrens system and free text books. It denounced the contraction of the currency as responsible for the prevalent hard times, demanded the immediate resumption of free coinage and condemned as insincere and hypocritical the Republican suggestion of an international conference on silver. An interesting provision was the demand that the government foreclose the mortgage on the Union Pacific Railroad and operate that road when it had taken possession.¹⁸

The Democratic platform was as non-committal as good politics could make it. It condemned the Republicans, state and national, promised a reduction of state taxation to the "lowest limits consistent with a just and careful administration of governmental function," promised to stop the present squandering of the public domain,¹⁹ and favored a law regulating railroads and fixing rates.²⁰

The Republican State Convention met in Tacoma on August 26, nominating P. C. Sullivan, political boss of Pierce County, for governor. There were few contests and no important struggles over nominations or over the platform, the latter being unanimously adopted on the first day of the convention. Besides lengthy commendations of the Republican Party and indorsement of the state administration, the platform contained little of importance. It demanded "such legislation as will secure equitable freight rates," favored the direct election of United States Senators, and pledged the "most economic administration consistent with business-like management."²¹

The campaign which ended November 3 was a lively one, although at no time was the outcome seriously in doubt.²² Even Republican opinion admitted the probability of success for fusion. The campaign, however, was not without its high lights, color being lent it by the frequent repetition by the Silver press of the accusation,

18 *Spokesman*, August 15, 1896.

19 This provision referred to the very questionable course which had been resorted to by the incumbent Republican administration in allowing the wholesale preemption of tide lands by private interests, in obvious violation of the intent and the letter of the State Constitution. A brief summary of the tide land question, together with an estimate of its political consequences, may be found in W. F. Prosser's *A History of the Puget Sound Country*, Vol. I, pp. 215-18. The conclusion there reached that the reaction against the flagrant betrayal of the public trust in the tide land affair was chiefly responsible for the Republican eclipse of 1896 may be exaggerated. It obviously underestimates the deeper significance of the Populist movement. It is natural that the Silver Republicans should omit a plank involving so direct a condemnation of the existing Republican administration. The Populists do not seem to have been greatly concerned with the question at their convention, an indication that Prosser's estimate of its importance is overdrawn.

20 *Spokesman*, August 15, 1896.

21 The complete platform, together with an account of the convention may be found in the *Spokesman* for Aug. 27. The entire Republican ticket is printed in the issue for the following day.

22 N. W. Durham, in his *Spokane and the Inland Empire*, describes the campaign as the "most spectacular and spirited in the state's history." He gives an interesting narrative of events in the Spokane campaign. Unfortunately his account of the political events of the state as a whole is too meagre to be of much use to the student.

first made at the Silver Republican Convention by W. C. Jones, that Mark Hanna's money was being corruptly used by the Republicans.²³ The election returns gave Rogers a majority of over thirteen thousand, slightly more than that received by Bryan. The fusionists carried both houses of the legislature,²⁴ although the Republicans hoped until the returns were nearly in that they might retain control of the senate.

The legislature assembled on January 11, 1897, and completed its organization without difficulty, in spite of sharpshooting by the Republican minority.²⁵ The fusion caucuses functioned smoothly, the majority slate being broken only for one minor senate office. Governor-elect Rogers had early evinced a desire to conciliate the varied element to be found in the fusion camp. His first statement as chief of the incoming administration had been aimed at forestalling disputes relative to patronage and had emphatically condemned "personal appointments."²⁶ His inaugural address, delivered January 13, was couched in terms calculated to preserve harmony. He laid great stress on the avoidance of strife in the election of a United States Senator, declaring the success of the Populist movement in the state to be at issue:

"These are the conditions: The great plain people . . . are to unite against the organized aggression of the privileged few, or they are to become the helpless servants of a poorly concealed plutocracy . . . If you fail to agree, if by lack of agreement you render the success of the people's cause impossible, do not forget that the men of this state will call you to account as unworthy and incapable servants. . . ."

His legislative recommendations recapitulated a number of the important planks in the fusion platforms, and may be taken as evidence of his intention to carry out the policies there outlined.

The most important items were as follows.

1. *Taxation*: readjustment of taxes to place the burden on "great properties" and free the homeowner.

2. *Schools*: maintenance of the "barefoot school boy law" of

²³ The *Spokesman* for September 26 quoted a "staunch Republican" to the effect that Hanna's money was being wasted in influencing Washington votes and that Republican campaign managers were misusing it.

²⁴ Brief biographies of the members of the 1897 legislature may be found in the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* for January 14, 1897. This newspaper, stalwart Republican in sympathy, is hereafter cited as *P.-I.*

²⁵ For example Wilson's senate resolution condemning extravagance, calling on the Populists to redeem their pledges of economy. *Sen. Journal*, 1897, p. 17. The majority replied that "it was not the object of the people's party to retrench by cutting the wages of employees." See *Seattle Times*, Jan. 14.

²⁶ *Spokesman*, Nov. 10, 1896.

1895, with amendments revising the apportionment of state funds in the interest of smaller and poorer districts.

3. *Higher education*: a single board of control for all the state institutions of higher learning.

4. *Text books*: free school books to be provided at state expense.

5. *Corrupt practices*: a law to prevent intimidation and coercion of the voter.

6. *Free passes*: the reception of railway passes by state official to be made a felony.

7. *Railway rates*: maximum rates to be fixed by law; a railroad commission to be created to make further reductions when possible.

8. *Administrative reform*: unnecessary commissions to be abolished; a single board of control for state institutions to be created; alleged abuses to be investigated.

9. *Inspection laws*: mine disasters, failures of state banks, building and loan associations to be checked by state inspection.

10. *Fishing*: fish wheels to be abolished.

The address embodied a plea for moderation in reform measures, emphasizing the danger of reactions following radical measures, but concluded with a denunciation of the exploitation of the many by few.²⁷

Its task having been thus defined, it remained for the legislature to attack the problems before it. The first and most vexatious of these was the election of a United States Senator to succeed Senator Squire. No agreement had been reached at Ellensburg relative to this office, although the "middle-of-the-road" faction contended that the senatorship had been definitely promised them. This group had held a secret caucus supposed to have had the purposes of fortifying opposition to all but out and out Populists, and there were threats that the fusion agreement would be broken unless this demand was conceded.²⁸ Had the Populists been able to concentrate on a single candidate, the election might have been speedily terminated, as they possessed a majority without Democratic or Silver

²⁷ The complete text of the governor's address may be found in the legislative journal of either house. The address was favorably received on all sides. The Tacoma *Morning Union* (hereafter cited as *Morning Union*) of Jan. 14 characterized it as "the ablest state paper ever delivered by a Washington Governor." This journal was fusionist in sympathy. The Seattle *Times* (hereafter cited as *Times*), a Silver Republican organ, declared on the same day "We are of the opinion that Governor Rogers has given clear evidence of his ability, his sagacity, his honesty and his fearless determination to give the people of Washington an honest, upright and fearless administration."

²⁸ *P.-I.* Jan. 15. This staunchly Republican paper reports with great thoroughness the petty squabbles within the fusion ranks.

Republican support.²⁹ Their lack of unity gave a great advantage to the Silver Republicans, who offered two prominent candidates, Squire, who desired to succeed himself, and Judge George Turner of Spokane, who had played an important harmonizing role at Ellensburg. Squire was strongly supported by the *Seattle Times*, which urged that his acknowledged views and services, his part in the Ellensburg proceedings and a just recognition of the claims of the Silver Republicans to a share in the federal representation of the state entitled him to be the choice of the legislature.³⁰ Many Populists, however, questioned Squire's sincerity, asserting that he did not support the whole of the Omaha platform and that his views on Chinese exclusion were unsound.³¹ Turner's Populism was of a more outspoken variety, while his constancy on the silver issue was assured by his connection with the silver mining industry.

Efforts to secure a caucus of all fusionists were feared by both the Populists and the Turner group, and no agreement had been reached when balloting began on January 20. The first joint ballot revealed the Republican candidate, Denny, solidly supported by the minority of twenty-six votes, Turner with nineteen, Squire with two, and the remainder hopelessly divided among more than a dozen candidates.³² It was quite apparent that Governor Rogers' appeal for harmony³³ had fallen on very deaf ears, and, indeed, the governor was freely accused of having a hand in the senatorial lobbying himself.³⁴

The balloting continued day after day with slight fluctuations of strength among the various candidates. Attempts were made by the Populists to concentrate upon one candidate and various shifts were made in an effort to find a Populist who could command the necessary votes. The deadlock continued, however, Turner's maxi-

²⁹ Party affiliations as stated by the members for publication in the legislative journals were as follows:

		Senate
House		
44	Populists.....	15
10	Democrats.....	4
11	Silver Republicans.....	2
13	Republicans.....	13

Fifty-seven was an electoral majority. A Populist vote was gained in the House by Rader's victory in his contest against Seymour, Republican, but this affected only the last senatorial ballot. Populist strength was usually given as fifty-seven, three being ranked as independents. See *Times*, Jan. 21.

³⁰ *Times*, Jan. 16.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, correspondence.

³² *Senate Journal*, 1897, p. 95.

³³ "Gettysburg took but two days. A senator is to be named within the next seven days. Gentlemen . . . if quarreling is essential let your quarrels be settled within the next seven days and let the election of a Senator occur on the first day that you are permitted to ballot." For this "stinging rebuke," see the *P.-I.* for Jan. 14. It was omitted from the official text of the inaugural address.

³⁴ Rogers was accused of making a deal with Turner whereby he, Rogers, would be supported for the next senatorial vacancy. See *Times*, Jan. 18. Even the *P.-I.* scouted this rumor, but it was later credited with having materially contributed to the breakdown of Populist harmony. Rogers publicly denied the charge. *Times*, Jan. 20.

mum being thirty-five votes, while the Populists reached a high mark of forty-four votes divided among their various candidates. This situation continued until January 28, when enough Populists gave in to allow the calling of a fusion caucus, now the ardent hope of the Turner forces. After some stormy moments in the organization of the caucus, Turner was chosen as fusion candidate and was elected by a substantial fusion majority on the next day.

Although the legislature was presumably controlled by a group actuated by high ideals of public policy, the senatorial contest was not concluded without a melee of charges of intrigue, manipulation and outright corruption. The greediness of the Populists for office was alarming,³⁵ while the Silver Republicans were equally determined to win the election.³⁶ Most disconcerting were the charges of direct corruption implicating Senator Plummer and Representative Warner, as well as both Squire and Turner.³⁷ These were made the subject of committee investigations in house and senate which took much testimony. The evidence tended to throw the blame on Warner, but the legislature apparently wished to smooth over the affair and discharged the committees without action.

The result of the senatorial election was a severe blow to the confidence of the Populists. Squire's poor showing was an indication of the desire of the fusionists to choose a convinced Populist, but the choice of Turner failed to satisfy this criterion. If ac-

35 On January 19 forty or more fusionists met to discuss the possibility of caucusing. A motion carried that all candidates be excused. So many left that no quorum remained! *Times*, Jan. 20.

36 A plan was agitated whereby Silver Republican votes would be so concentrated as to threaten the nomination of the Republican, Denny, whereupon the Populists were to be stampeded into voting for a Silver Republican who had supported the Ellensburg program. This fell through, as did a "gold bug" Republican scheme to block the choice of Turner. *Times*, Jan. 24, *Morning Union*, Feb. 3.

37 Representative Tobiassen charged Fritz, a Turner man, with offering him a bribe. Friends of Turner were said to have a "jack-pot"—a "Le Roi mine combine"—out of which these matters were to be paid. Fritz flatly denied this. Warner charged Squire with offering him \$1000 down and \$5000 contingent on election. The following conversation was said to have occurred.

"Warner, what is this twenty men you have got?"

"I don't know of any club . . . there are twenty or twenty-five men in this legislature who propose to elect a senator as soon as we can."

"Warner, I've got to make the last desperate effort. This campaign has cost me a whole lot of money, and since the Ellensburg convention I have spent \$15000 and I don't know what has become of it. I have no money but about \$3000, but I can't get \$13000 contingent upon election. If you can get me elected I will give you \$1000 to take the boys down to Doane's and buy them oysters and fill them up, and will give you \$5000 when I am elected."

Warner replied that "there ain't any man in this organization that you can buy," but also testified that on Squire's list there were several names checked off indicating that they had already been bought. *Times*, Feb. 4.

Dr. Calhoun, who had made the above charges, claimed that there were at least thirty members of the legislature who were for sale like "sheep in the shambles" or "beef on the hoof." He accused Senator Plummer of offering his vote for \$500 and Warner of offering a pool of twenty members for \$5000. *Ibid*, Jan. 29, and edit. of same date.

Squire's defence was that Warner took the initiative and that no money had actually passed. *Ibid*, Feb. 10.

Turner's expenses, as stated by him, amounted to \$4300 and \$239 spent by friends. *Ibid*, Feb. 2.

The *Post-Intelligencer* accused the Populists of "whitewashing" the guilty. Issue of Feb. 9.

tual bribery, as many believed, had not been resorted to, interest rather than principle had controlled the action of many of the fusion group. Promises of appointment to office had seduced many, it was said, Rogers being blamed for leading many into the Turner camp.³⁸ But the most saddening reflection was that had the Populists united firmly on one of their own men—Lieut. Governor Daniels, Speaker Cline, Davis, Winsor or Baker—they could have avoided the whole nasty controversy. The Seattle *Times* early predicted that if the Populists kept up their "Kilkenny fight among themselves" the great mass of the people would repudiate every man connected with the fusion party,³⁹ while the anti-fusion press freely asserted that this would be the first and last fusion legislature in Washington.⁴⁰

Turner, to be sure, was verbally committed to the Populist cause, and his election was hailed in some quarters as a triumph for reform. The Tacoma *Morning Union* (Populist) characterized him as "the steadfast and courageous champion of the people" who might have been elected Senator long before if he had "yielded his convictions and entered into a truce with the railroads."⁴¹ Turner himself issued a statement to the effect that he was now a member of the People's Party and declared that "as long as I live I never expect to cast another Republican ballot so long as God helps me."⁴² It was clear, however, that his chief interest was in silver—due to his mining connections⁴³ and that the Populists had lost the game through lack of organization and good leadership.

The legislative program of the fusionists suffered heavily from the disintegrating effect of the senatorial election. Far better would it have been, declared the *Times*, if the Ellensburg conventions had settled this matter, for thus jealousy and animosity would have been avoided and time would have been left for the legislature to work for the good of the state.⁴⁴ Instead, wedges had been driven into the fusionist alignment, the demoralizing effects of patronage and money had manifested themselves and the friendly relations between the governor and the legislature had been sadly shaken.

Bills incorporating the Ellensburg proposals and many other characteristic Populist measures were introduced,⁴⁵ but their pro-

³⁸ The Seattle *Times*, Jan. 30, gives a list of such aspirants for office.

³⁹ Jan. 23, edit.

⁴⁰ *Times*, Feb. 5. *Morning Union*, Feb. 1, quotations.

⁴¹ *Morning Union*, Feb. 1.

⁴² *Times*, Jan. 30.

⁴³ "Financially he has prospered in recent years. He retains 35000 shares (estimated to be worth \$300,000) of the Le Roy mine, of which he is general manager, and has large interests in other mines." *Morning Union*, Feb. 1.

⁴⁴ *Times*, Jan. 16, 23.

⁴⁵ These included a concurrent resolution advocating direct election of U.S. senators, bills providing for the initiative and referendum, proposing a simpler method of amending the state constitution, giving priority to laborers' liens, forbidding the pay-

gress was disappointing. On February 16 an enthusiastic Populist correspondent⁴⁶ pointed out that half the session had passed, yet nothing in the way of remedial legislation had been secured. As late as March 7, the *Morning Union* thought it necessary to reprint the Ellensburg program as a warning to the legislature that its work was woefully in arrears.⁴⁷ When the legislature emerged from the turmoil of the "end of session rush" it was seen that most of the major items of the governor's program had either failed or received inadequate treatment.

A brief recapitulation of the principal measures passed will indicate the extent of the collapse of the fusionist legislative program. A taxation law was enacted, but instead of readjusting the burden of taxes it contended itself with revisions in the manner of collection, substituting a fifteen per cent interest charge on unpaid taxes for the advertising of delinquents, and fixing a \$500 exemption for personal property and an additional \$500 for improvements in and on real estate. A referendum was provided on a constitutional amendment embodying the principle of the single tax, but this was defeated in the 1898 election. The school bill desired by the governor⁴⁸ was passed, but the plan for free text books was entirely forgotten.

The demand for inspection laws was met by a measure designed to increase safety in mines and by an insurance law providing for publicity of accounts and prohibiting combinations to raise insurance rates. The latter, however, was not an innovation, as it followed a model already adopted in fourteen states.⁴⁹ The anti-fish-wheel bill was passed, at the cost of much dissension and with the addition of an amendment forbidding purse seines.

Railroad rate and anti-pass legislation were perhaps the most important pledges of the Populist platform. Governor Rogers was strongly committed to the Stafford bill fixing a maximum freight rate of \$3.75 per ton and establishing a railroad commission. This measure was twice beaten in the house and its duplicate in the senate was defeated by a combination of ten fusionists with the solid republican vote. To offset the governor's threat of a special session if rate legislation failed, a weak substitute was passed fixing the

ment of wages in company warrants, a workmen's compensation law, bills preventing blacklisting and coercing employees, providing that all obligations of debt, etc., might be payable in "lawful money," i.e., not gold, providing for reclamation of arid lands, etc., etc. See *Journals of House and Senate, passim*.

⁴⁶ *Times*, Feb. 16.

⁴⁷ *Morning Union*, March 7.

⁴⁸. This was little more than a codification of existing law, though it changed the method of apportioning state money—a concession to the poorer districts.

⁴⁹ *P.I.*, Mar. 14.

maximum at \$4.25 per ton and omitting the commission feature.⁵⁰ Passenger rates were dealt with in a bill which passed the house March 1 and was favorably reported to the senate, but this measure failed of further consideration. One of four anti-pass bills emerged from the house, but an unfavorable committee report was accepted with alacrity by the senate.

Economy was another important Populist rallying cry, but in this respect also the legislature fell far short of its objectives. The much talked of promise to reduce the salaries of state officers came to nothing, although a series of bills embodying the necessary constitutional amendments were introduced in the senate.⁵¹ The saving resulting from substitution of a single board of control for the trustees of the various state institutions was fully counter-balanced by the creation of a bureau of labor, a state road commission and a commissioner of horticulture.⁵² Some superficial economies were achieved, to be sure, but only, according to Republican critics, at the expense of efficiency in the administrative offices. Populist assertions that the state had been saved nearly two million dollars were branded by the *Post-Intelligencer* as barefaced juggling of figures, and, on the whole, this latter version seems correct.⁵³ Governor Rogers himself was displeased with the legislative appropriations. His reply took the form of vetoing the appropriations for two normal schools and the \$500,000 item for a new capitol building. The latter was perhaps the appropriate type of economy for lean years, but all of the vetoes aroused heavy protest.

Nothing illustrates better the temper of the legislature than the treatment accorded two favorite Populist proposals, direct election of senators and woman suffrage. The former might seem to have been non-controversial as it had been indorsed in the Republican platform. A house joint resolution favoring such a federal amendment, however, died in a senate committee. A state referendum on the latter measure was provided, to be sure, but it was delayed and

⁵⁰ A bill fixing maximum charges for milling grain was also lost. Rogers' disappointment with the rate bill was shared by most Populists outside the legislature. Representative Geraghty termed it a "fake bill," and Representative Wolf thought it "the bastard product of the railroad companies." Undue influence by railway representatives was freely charged. An editorial in the *Tacoma Morning Union* declared that the senate was "fixed" by the railroad interests and that the senate amendments which had choked the commission bill were written by a Seattle railway attorney. Winsor, a populist, claimed that a "jackpot" of \$180,000 had been raised in Tacoma to buy legislators. Senator Plummer, also a Populist, took a more favorable view, denying railway influence. A 10 to 20 per cent reduction in rates, he said, was a real advantage. The *Morning Union* estimated that the bill would save Whitman county \$100,000 per year, and Walla Walla county from \$60,000 to \$70,000. See *Spokesman*, Mar. 14, *Morning Union*, Mar. 9, 10, 14.

⁵¹ *Senate Journal*, 1897, p. 84 ff.

⁵² The promised unified board for higher educational institutions also failed of creation.

⁵³ The *Tacoma Morning Union* placed the saving at \$1,716,919. The *Post-Intelligencer's* figure was less than \$100,000 with the qualification that even this saving would disappear when the records were all in. See issue of Mar. 14.

actually endangered while house and senate conferees disputed as to whose bill should take precedence.⁵⁴

The debtor class perhaps fared best at the hands of this Populist legislature. The tax bill had been drawn in their interest and to this was added a deficiency judgment law limiting satisfaction for foreclosures to the property pledged. A half-dozen minor bills of similar purport emerged from the legislature but nothing was heard of the Torrens system of registering land titles, so much desired a few months before.

In the interludes of this contentious session a considerable program of minor legislation was passed, most of it useful and practically none of it vicious.⁵⁵ It is apparent, however, that there were large lacunae in the output of the legislature, whether compared with the governor's recommendations or the proposals of the Ellensburg platforms.

Contemporary opinions of the work of the legislature varied widely. The Populist *Morning Union* had been much disgusted with its behavior, expressing the hope that in the future the electorate would choose men "who are a little long on manhood and common decency and extremely short on pusillanimity."⁵⁶ At the end of the session, however, it declared that a great deal of good work had been done.⁵⁷ A Spokane member, Senator Houghton, characterized it as "the best legislature we have ever had," and declared that "quite as good work for the public has been accomplished by this more noisy and disagreeing body than usually comes from a better trained legislature."⁵⁸ Judged, indeed, by the standards of the time, the legislature was far from being a failure. It had avoided a senatorial deadlock such as had disgraced its Oregon contemporary, and although not entirely free from the taint of corruption, it could hardly be called a "controlled" legislature. To Republicans, however, its

⁵⁴ See newspaper reports, March 11. Woman suffrage, like the single tax amendment, was beaten in the Republican landslide of 1898. The initiative and referendum was also lost in the senate after passing the house.

⁵⁵ A total of 140 bills reached the governor, 72 of the 290 senate bills passing, together with 68 of the 631 introduced in the house. Omitting a few of routine character, the 134 chief measures may be classified as follows.

Amendments to criminal, civil and procedural codes.....	29
Organization and powers of state government.....	16
Organization and powers of local governments.....	20
Relief of debtors	11
Protection of labor	4
Morals, sanitation and inspection.....	6
Regulation of corporations	4
Conservation and development	12
Roads and highways	9
Elections	3
Private bills	8
Revenue and appropriations.....	12

See *Session Laws*, 1897, and a digest of laws passed printed in *P.-T.*, Mar. 14.

⁵⁶ *Morning Union*, Feb. 27.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14.

⁵⁸ *Spokesman*, Mar. 17.

proceedings were a glorious farce,⁵⁹ while many sincere Populists were convinced that they had been betrayed. The fusionist *Spokesman-Review* was especially denunciatory. It was not a sufficient defence of the legislature, declared an editorial in this journal,⁶⁰ to say that they had met some promises. They had been unusually fertile in pledge and promise, emphatic in denunciation of corporation control of past legislatures, and had promised to keep themselves free of such control:

"They return to their homes tainted with corporation influence. They have broken their promise for lower freight rates. They have not reduced the exorbitant fares charged by the railroads. Nor have they lowered telephone and telegraph rates as promised. They denounced past legislatures for failing to forbid the official use of free passes and promised to pass a law making acceptance of such passes a felony. They have not kept that promise. . . . They stand self-condemned before the people."

The result was, in the words of Representative Geraghty, a "pitiable and humiliating end to a movement that promised so much good for the people," a conclusion concurred in by the rank and file of the Populists.⁶¹

In striking a balance between these views we may perhaps concur in Governor Rogers' own opinion, that the session was not all that it should have been, but that it *was* an improvement over the preceding regime. The reasons for this failure to measure up to Populist hopes are not hard to find. First and foremost may be placed the lack of harmony and absence of leadership among the Populists themselves. An inexperienced group, politically, they betrayed the temperamental independence characteristic of radical groups. The lack of a strong hand was extremely apparent both in house and senate, and the quarrel over the senatorship dissipated

59 "Let the Populists say with Thackeray: 'Put up the box and the puppets, for our play is played out.'" *P.-I.*, Mar. 14.

60 *Spokesman*, Mar. 17.

61 What the people who rolled up the Populist majority wanted is well expressed by a correspondent of the *Seattle Times*, Jan. 23, in a letter signed John Govan, dated Sequim, Jan. 18;

"We are in a deep hole, sir, and we are looking to this legislature to help us out of it some; and in my humble opinion there is only one way to do it, and that is by abolishing a great many of the offices and cutting all of the salaries, from the governor down, till they correspond somewhat with ours, or the taxpayers' incomes. Economy, economy, is what we want and what we must have if we are to survive."

"I have been a Populist since the party was first organized in this state and have anxiously longed for and worked for this day of triumph, and I sincerely hope that the men we have sent to Olympia will not fritter away their precious sixty days in far-fetched ideas, however fair they may appear, but do something practical to deliver us from the bondage we are living under at present."

"I think I may venture to sum up all that is hurting us at present as follows: Our taxes are too high; when we work for the county we get paid in warrants, and they refuse to take them for taxes. If the legislature will relieve us a little, along this line first, they can go on and do as much good as they can along other lines beyond our ken. I think I may say that a majority of my neighbors would second what I have said."

the hope that Rogers himself might supply the needed discipline. Suspicious of his ambitions and greedy for office, the more capable Populists in the legislature set themselves almost from the beginning to destroy his program. The attitude of the Populist State Chairman, Frank Baker, who wished to be patronage dispenser for the new regime, contributed largely to this result.⁶² Inability to caucus on the senatorship carried over to the legislative program. Time-wasting debates on inconsequential measures⁶³ pushed genuinely important bills into the crowded last days where they perished. The small but well organized Republican minority thus was able practically to dictate the bills to be passed. It was actually asserted that only three bills not approved by the Republicans were enacted!⁶⁴ The frequent complaints made by populists as to the obstructive measures of the "gold bugs" merely testified to the populists' own inefficiency.

Some weight may perhaps be given to the presence of strong railroad, liquor and fishery lobbies and to the corrupt use of money among the legislators, but these would have been ineffective if the Populists had acted in complete accord. The situation was well summarized in the *Post-Intelligencer*:

"This family row was the characteristic feature of the whole session. At no time after the first week was there anything like unity of action on the part of the members of the majority party. The session was conspicuous by a total absence of that feeling of party pride and responsibility which should characterize the party in power. On nearly every fundamental proposition that came up the fusionists were divided and the hostile factions fought each other bitterly.

"This was no more than was to be expected considering that the men sent to Olympia had not served together in one party long enough to become familiar with each other's ideas, but on the other hand represented political principles entirely at variance with each other. The Fifth legislature will go down to history as a riotous, incoherent, tempestuous, irresponsible assemblage of men, and, with the exception of the Republican minority, with no political affinity binding them together, and with no sense of the responsibility they were under to the party who sent them to Olympia."⁶⁵

62 This was brought out in the *P.-I.* for March 14.

63 Such as Speaker Cline's bill to introduce the South Carolina dispensary system. Many hours were spent debating the desirability of forbidding the wearing of large hats in theatres.

64 A Republican leader was quoted to this effect. *Morning Union*, Mar. 25.

65 *P.-I.*, March 14.

The oft-repeated forecast that the record of this legislature would result in the repudiation of Populism was amply fulfilled. The 1898 election brought not only a Republican landslide in the legislative contests but also overwhelming defeat for the Populist constitutional amendments, woman suffrage and the single tax. It would be erroneous, however, to attribute this result entirely to Populist ineptitude. The passing of two years had brought alleviation to the hard times which had been basically responsible for the acceptance of Populist panaceas. The rising price curve was the surest guarantee that the voters of Washington would abandon the false gods of Populism and return to their traditional Republican allegiance.⁶⁶ Of great importance, also, was the decline in significance of the free silver question. Washington Populists had been urged by Secretary Edgerton of the National People's Party Committee to cut loose entirely from silver. Governor Rogers had replied that this was the only issue upon which the opposition groups could combine.⁶⁷ His hope that free silver, like the Republican doctrine of 1860, would serve as the entering wedge for the creation of a new party, was, however, doomed to be confounded from the moment of Bryan's defeat. The protest movement, in truth, was on the wane in 1896,⁶⁸ and by 1898 its strength had largely spent itself.

Disappointing as was the 1897 legislature to the enthusiasts who had created it, the Populist interlude was not without its redeeming features. Many of the problems attacked—the creation of an equitable system of taxation, the regulation of fisheries, the control of institutions of higher learning, to name but a few—were of the utmost difficulty, and have escaped solution to the present day. Moreover, the fear that the Populist legislators would lose themselves in a mist of idealist theorizing was not realized. The neces-

⁶⁶ On the morrow of the election of 1896, the *Post-Intelligencer* gave the following explanation of fusionist victory:

"Five years of hard times has brought about a feeling of unrest. General depression, trade stagnation and reverses in business have made men sour. A lack of prosperity always breeds uneasiness and the reaction from boom contentment to hard times despair has been sufficiently sharp to create an army of those short-sighted people who favor a change because they imagine conditions cannot be made worse than they now are. That such a feeling of hopelessness existed is clearly shown by the character of returns in all parts of the state. The result in Washington was only a repetition of what has occurred in other states when unusual prosperity has been followed by widespread depression. Wherever populism has triumphed it will be found to have been under precisely similar conditions. And with the return of prosperity and brighter and more hopeful prospects for the people, populism will disintegrate and disappear here just as it has in other commonwealths where it has temporarily flourished during periods of common distress." *P.-I.*, Nov. 7, 1896.

⁶⁷ This correspondence is cited in an editorial in the *Times*, Feb. 17, 1897.

⁶⁸ Ex-Governor McGraw, Rogers' predecessor, declared that the fusionist vote of 1896 was less than that which would have been cast for a Populist-Democratic fusion in 1894. See his letter to the *Spokesman* quoted in the *P.-I.* for Nov. 5, 1896. He declared that "the chief reasons why fusion was so complete are, I believe, that the general depression existing in this state since 1892—more severe here than in almost any other state owing to our lack of productive industries and to our overconfident speculation—has been so severe as to lead many to turn to any suggested remedy, no matter how hopeless it might be."

sity of practical relief for specific injustices was fully understood, and much legislation of real value was placed on the statute books. There is reason to believe that Populist leaders appreciated, though too late, the need of disciplined unity, and that, had continued distress resulted in their return to office, many of the errors of 1897 would have been avoided. In spite of their temperamental independence, their occasional susceptibility to bribery and influence, the Populist legislators of 1897 will not suffer greatly by comparison with their contemporaries, while in Governor Rogers the party gave to the state a great leader, deserving of lasting recognition for his courage, his integrity and his devotion to the cause of the common man.

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TWO KOOTENAY WOMEN MASQUERADE AS MEN? OR WERE THEY ONE?

Mr. J. Neilson Barry, in the July *Quarterly*¹ of last year, again calls vividly to our attention the Kootenay woman who in Astoria days masqueraded as a man. From journals of both fur trader and missionary we have, as I shall show, a later record of a Kootenay woman who from soon after Astoria down to her heroic death in June, 1837, masqueraded as a man. Mr. T. C. Elliott, in a note concerning her appearance in John Work's *Journal*² in 1825, suggests that this later woman may be the woman of Astoria days. It is my purpose in this study to discuss this probable identity of the Kootenay woman masquerader, described by Thompson, Irving, Franchere, Alexander Ross, and Sir John Franklin, with the Kootenay woman masquerader described by John Work and W. H. Gray.

To place all the data before the reader it is necessary to make excerpts from seven journalists and authors, all of whom except Irving and Franklin knew her personally.

I. *The Astoria Record*

Franchere, just one month before Thompson's arrival, gives us our first glimpse³ of the Kootenay woman:

"On the 15th [June, 1811], some natives from up the river, brought us two strange Indians, a man and a woman. They were not attired like the savages on the river Columbia, but wore long robes of dressed deer-skin, with leggings and moccasins in the fashion of tribes to the east of the Rocky Mountains. We put questions to them in various Indian dialects; but they did not understand us. They showed us a letter addressed to "Mr. John Stuart, Fort Estekatadene, New Caledonia." Mr. Pillet then addressing them in the Knisteneaux language, they answered, although they appeared not to understand it perfectly. Notwithstanding, we learned from them that they had been sent by a Mr. Finnan M'Donald, a clerk in the service of the Northwest Company, and who had a post on a river which they called *Spokan*; that having lost their way, they had followed the course of the Tacousah Tessah (the Indian name of the Columbia,⁴ that when they arrived at the Falls, the natives made them understand that there were white men at the mouth of the

1 "Ko-Come-Ne Pe-Ka, the Letter Carrier." Vol. XX, pp. 201-203.

2 *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V, p. 190.

3 Franchere, Gabriel. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*. (Huntington Translation). pp. 118, 119.

4 Franchere's error. The Indian Tacouche Tesse was the Fraser.

river; and not doubting that the person to whom the letter was addressed would be found there, they had come to deliver it.

"We kept these messengers for some days, and having drawn from them important information respecting the country in the interior west of the Mountains, we decided to send an expedition thither, under the command of Mr. David Stuart; and the 15th of July was fixed for its departure."

Of the month intervening between their arrival and Thompson's, Alexander Ross writes:⁵

"Among the many visitors who every now and then presented themselves, were two strange Indians, in the character of man and wife, from the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, and who may probably figure in our narrative hereafter. The husband, named Ko-come-ne-pe-ca, was a very shrewd and intelligent Indian, who addressed us in the Algonquin language, and gave us much information respecting the interior of the country."

Irving's account,⁶ being second hand, is colorless:

"Not long after their return, however, further accounts were received, by two wandering Indians, which established the fact that the Northwest Company had actually erected a trading-house on the Spokane River, which falls into the north branch of the Columbia."

Franchere, for the day of Thompson's arrival, July 15, writes:⁷

"He recognized the two Indians, who had brought the letter addressed to Mr. J. Stuart, and told us that they were two women, one of whom had dressed herself up as a man, to travel with more security. The description which he gave us of the interior was not calculated to give us a very favorable idea of it, and did not perfectly accord with that of our two Indian guests."

Ross enters for the same occasion:⁸

"Mr. Thompson at once recognized⁹ the two strange Indians, and gave us to understand that they were both females."

For the day of departure for the interior Ross writes:¹⁰

"Accordingly, Mr. David Stuart, myself, Messers. Pillette and M'Lennan, three Canadian voyageurs, and two Sandwich Islanders, accompanied by Mr. Thompson's party and the two strangers, in

5 Ross, Alexander. *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813.* p. 85.

6 Irving, Washington. *Astoria.* Chapter X.

7 Franchere. *op. cit.* p. 122.

8 Ross. *op. cit.* p. 85.

9 Both Franchere and Ross are thus directly at variance with Mr. Barry's statement (*op. cit.* p. 202) that "she was able to maintain her disguise until the expedition reached the Cascades of the Columbia."

10 Ross. *op. cit.* p. 102.

all twenty-one persons, started from Astoria, at eleven o'clock on the 22nd of July, 1811."

Irving writes regarding the same occasion:¹¹

"He was to be guided by the two Indians, who knew the country, and promised to take him to a place not far from the Spokane River, and in a neighborhood abounding in beaver."

II. Up the Columbia to Okanogan

Four days later, July 26, Thompson¹² gives a full account of the Kootenay woman and her "wife":

"A fine morning; to my surprise, very early, apparently a young man, well dressed in leather, carrying a Bow and Quiver of Arrows, with his Wife, a young woman in good clothing, came to my tent door and requested me to give them my protection; somewhat at a loss what answer to give, on looking at them, in the Man I recognized the Woman who three years ago was the wife of Boisverd, a Canadian and my servant; her conduct was then so loose that I had to request him to send her away to her friends, but the Koote- nays were also displeased with her; she left them, and found her way from Tribe to Tribe to the Sea. She became a prophetess, declared her sex changed, that she was now a Man, dressed, and armed herself as such, and also took a young woman to Wife, of whom she pretended to be very jealous: when with the Chinooks, as a prophetess, she predicted diseases to them, which made some of them threaten her life, and she found it necessary for her safety to endeavour to return to her own country at the head of this River.

"Having proceeded half a mile up a Rapid, we came to four men who were waiting for us, they had seven Salmon, the whole of which they gave us as a present; I was surprised at this generosity and change of behaviour; as we were all very hungry, at the head of the Rapid we put ashore, and boiled them; while this was doing, the four men addressed me, saying, when you passed going down to the sea, we were all strong in life, and your return to us finds us strong to live, but what is this we hear, casting their eyes with a stern look on her, is it true that the White men, (looking at Mr. Stuart and his men) have brought with them the Small Pox to destroy us; and two men of enormous size, who are on their way to us, overturning the Ground,¹³ and burying all the Villages and Lodges under-

¹¹ Irving. *op. cit.* Chapter X.

¹² Thompson, David. *Narrative*. Champlain Society, Toronto. pp. 512-513.

¹³ Evidence of the quick and widespread circulation of these dire prophecies is seen in Daniel Harmon's entry in his journal in New Caledonia for June 11 of this same year: "Three Indians have arrived from Sy-cus [Sycamus], a village lying about one hundred and thirty miles down this river, who say that it is reported by others, from farther down, that there is a very extraordinary and powerful being on his way here, from the sea, who, when he arrives, will transform me into a stone: as well as perform many other miraculous deeds; and the simple and credulous Natives fully believe this report." Harmon, D. W. *Journal of Voyages and Travels*. p. 202.

neath it; is this true, and are we all soon to die. I told them not to be alarmed, for the white Men who had arrived had not brought the Small Pox, and the Natives were strong to live, and every evening were dancing and singing; and pointing to the skies, said, you ought to know that the Great Spirit is the only Master of the ground, and such as it was in the day of your grandfathers it is now, and will continue the same for your grandsons: At all which they appeared much pleased, and thanked me for the good words I had told them; but I saw plainly that if the man woman had not been sitting behind us they would have plunged a dagger in her.”¹⁴

Three days later Ross records¹⁵ how the two parties separated:

“On the 31st, after breakfast, Mr. Thompson and party left us to prosecute their journey, and Mr. Stuart, in one of our canoes, accompanied him as far as the long narrows, nor did he return till late in the afternoon, and then, thinking it too late to start, we passed the remainder of the day in camp, enjoying the repose which we had so much need of. The two strangers remained with us.”

Two days later, August 2, Thompson¹⁶ has this final entry:

“It is with some regret we proceed past several parties of the Natives, they are all glad to smoke with us, and eager to learn the news; every trifle seemed to be of some importance to them, and the story of the Woman that carried a Bow and Arrows and had a Wife, was to them a romance to which they paid great attention and my interpreter took pleasure in relating it.”

Irving's statements¹⁷ concerning the doings of the two rival traders, Thompson and David Stuart, are significant historically, but shed little light upon the Kootenay woman:

“Mr. Stuart, who distrusted his [Thompson's] sincerity, at length pretended to adopt his advice, and taking leave of him, remained as if to establish himself, while the other proceeded on his course towards the mountains. No sooner, however, had he fairly departed than Mr. Stuart again pushed forward, under the guidance of the two Indians; nor did he stop until he had arrived within about one hundred and forty miles of the Spokane River, which he considered near enough to keep the rival establishment in check.”

¹⁴ Thompson's account of this in his *Journal* (distinct from his *Narrative*) is as follows: “July 28th, Sunday. Here we met 4 men with 7 Salmon, we put ashore and boiled do. They, as well as the others enquired about the Smallpox, of which a report had been raised, that it was coming with the white men, and that also two men of enormous size to overturn the Ground etc.; we assured them that the whole was false, at which they were highly pleased, but had not Kootenaes been under our immediate care, she should have been killed for the lies she told on her way to the Sea.” Thompson, David. *Journal. Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV, p. 111.

¹⁵ Ross. *op. cit.* pp. 113, 114.

¹⁶ Thompson. *Narrative* cited.

¹⁷ Irving. *op. cit.* Chapter X.

Ross, upon his arrival at the Okanogan, concludes his entries by the following¹⁸ rather helpful information:

"In the account of our voyage I have been silent as to the two strangers who cast up at Astoria, and accompanied us from thence; but have noticed already, that instead of being man and wife, as they at first gave us to understand, they were in fact both women—and bold adventurous amazons they were. In accompanying us, they sometimes shot ahead, and at other times loitered behind, as suited their plans. The stories they gave out among the unsuspecting and credulous natives as they passed, were well calculated to astonish as well as to attract attention. Brought up, as they had been, near the whites—who rove, trap, and trade in the wilderness—they were capable of practising all the arts of well-instructed cheats; and, to effect their purpose the better, they showed the Indians an old letter, which they made a handle of, and told them that they had been sent by the great white chief, with a message to apprise the natives in general that gifts, consisting of goods and implements of all kinds, were forthwith to be poured in upon them; that the great white chief knew their wants, and was just about to supply them with everything their hearts could desire; that the whites had hitherto cheated the Indians, by selling goods in place of making presents to them, as directed by the great white chief. These stories, so agreeable to the Indian ear, were circulated far and wide; and not only received as truths, but procured so much celebrity for the two cheats, that they were the objects of attraction at every village and camp on the way: nor could we, for a long time, account for the cordial reception they met with from the natives, who loaded them for their good tidings with the most valuable articles they possessed—horses, robes, leather, and figuas; so that, on our arrival at Oakinacken, they had no less than twenty-six horses, many of them loaded with the fruits of their false reports."

III. The Letter Delivered at Fort Estakatadene

Up the Okanogan River guiding Stuart and two men to Shuswaps, Irvings "neighborhood abounding in beaver," the two women with their twenty-six horses richly laden made their way. At the Thompson River we lose sight of them except for the statement in the following narrative that the tribes were hostile and that the one who played the man was wounded in the breast. The following account,¹⁹ from Sir John Franklin's *Narrative of a Second Expedi-*

18 Ross. *op. cit.* pp. 144, 145.

19 Franklin, John. *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827.* London, 1828. pp. 305, 306.

tion, though it gives us information at second and third hand, should not be too critically questioned, unless in regard to its indefinite conclusion:

"I mentioned in my former *Narrative*, that the northern Indians had cherished a belief for some years, that a great change was about to take place in the natural order of things, and that among other advantages arising from it, their own condition of life was to be materially bettered. This story, I was now informed by Mr. Stuart,²⁰ originated with a woman, whose history appears to me deserving of a short notice. While living at the N.W. Company's Post, on the Columbia River, as the wife of one of the Canadian servants, she formed a sudden resolution of becoming a warrior; and throwing aside her female dress, she clothed herself in a suitable manner. Having procured a gun, a bow and arrows, and a horse, she sallied forth to join a party of her countrymen then going to war; and in her first essay, displayed so much courage as to attract general regard, which was so much heightened by her subsequent feats of bravery, that many young men put themselves under her command. Their example was soon generally followed, and at length she became the principal leader of the tribe, under the designation of "Manlike Woman." Being young, and of a delicate frame, her followers attributed her exploits to the possession of supernatural power, and therefore received whatever she said with implicit faith. To maintain her influence during peace, the lady thought proper to invent the above-mentioned prediction, which was quickly spread through the whole northern district. At a later period of her life, our heroine undertook to convey a packet of importance from the Company's Post on the Columbia to that in New Caledonia, through a tract of country which had not, at that time, been passed by the traders, and which was known to be infested by several hostile tribes. She chose for her companion another woman, whom she passed off as her wife. They were attacked by a party of Indians, and though the Manlike Woman received a wound in the breast, she accomplished her object, and returned to the Columbia with answers to the letters. When last seen by the traders, she had collected volunteers for another war excursion, in which she received a mortal wound. The faith of the Indians was shaken by her death, and soon afterwards the whole story she had invented fell into discredit."

²⁰ Stuart, John. He must not be confused with David Stuart, who led the Astorian expedition to Okanogan and Shuswaps. John was the Stuart up in New Caledonia to whom the letter was addressed.

IV. *Bundosh*

No information positively identified with the remarkable Kootenay woman just described is recorded subsequent to John Stuart's account to Franklin in 1827. But we do have for consideration a Kootenay woman named Bundosh who for at least twelve years masqueraded as a man. John Work was Hudson's Bay Company trader at Flathead Post (where Kootenays had to come to trade) in the winter of 1825-26. His entries²¹ referring to her during December, 1825, follow:

"Monday 12—The Kootenay chief with about a dozen of his men arrived and smoked but brought no furs with them as they said they intended to trade tomorrow. The chief it seems has been occasionally accustomed to get a dram on his arrival, and on asking for it got a glass of rum mixed with water, which little as it was, with the smoking, took him by the head and made him tipsy. A woman who goes in mens clothes and is a leading character among them was also tipsy with $\frac{3}{4}$ of a glass of mixed liquor and became noisy, some others of the leading men who got a little were not affected by it. Gave them some tobacco to smoke when they went off in the evening.

"Tuesday 13—The Kootenay chief with 60 to 80 of his people arrived in the morning and after smoking and conversing to about 11 o'clock a brisk trade was commenced and continued on to night, when all their furs and leather was traded, the Chief got some tobacco for his people to smoke in the night besides a small present of Ammunition and besides 4 Pluis. A present was also given to Bundosh, a woman who assumes a masculine character and is of some note among them, she acted as interpreter for us, she speaks F. Head well."

Silence (so far as records have whispered to me) for twelve years, when W. H. Gray, missionary agent returning to the States in 1837, traveling with Francis Ermatinger, H.B.C. trader with the Flatheads, has three entries²² in his journal that indubitably refer to her. His first words are almost an echo of John Work's last entry twelve years previously:

"June 3rd. . . The three Black Feet that arrived during the

²¹ Work, John. *Journal of*. Edited by T. C. Elliott. Washington Historical Quarterly, V, p. 190.

²² Gray, William H. *The Unpublished Journal of*. Whitman College Quarterly, XVI, No. 2. Note particular dates cited for the month of June 1837. This has recently been reprinted; it comprises pp. 627-679 of a privately printed book entitled: "Gray, Kamm, and Allied Families, with W. H. Gray's Journal and History of Oregon." Privately printed by the American Historical Society, Inc.

dance are two young men and one woman. The woman speaks good Flat Head.

"June 7th. . . About three hours after we had arrived in camp were told the Black Feet are coming. A few minutes after a Mr. Bird and three Black Feet arrived, bringing us the intelligence of the friendly disposition of the two camps, which they left about twelve o'clock today. . . .

"June 13th. . . We have been told that the Black Feet have killed the Kootenie woman, or Bowdash, as she is called. She has hitherto been permitted to go from all the camps, without molestation, to carry any message given her to either camp. She was with the Black Feet that came to our camp on the third, and also came with Mr. Bird on the seventh."

V. The Problem of Their Identity

The written record is before us. What evidence points to identity for these heretofore separate Kootenay women? What evidence indicates their separate existences? Is this evidence valid? What has later report to say?

A. The Tribe—They were both members of the same tribe, Kootenay. This is made plain by the various journalists. They were both women masquerading as men. This was not a temporary masquerade; in both cases it extended over several years.

B. The Name Ko-come-ne-pe-ca—Of the five writers who describe the Kootenay woman of Astoria days, only one, Ross, uses her supposed name, and he uses it but once, the first time he mentions her. Mr. Barry says that *Ko-come-ne Pe-ca* (the division of the word is his) in the Kootenay language means manlike woman, that the Kootenays called her this, and that she proudly adopted it as her own name. How this meaning can be derived Mr. Barry nowhere explains. It seems an impossible interpretation. The Kootenay word for man is *te-tqat*, for woman *palke*, and for like *qaps*. Not more than one syllable is much like any part of Ross's *Ko-come-ne-pe-ca*. Mr. Barry should separate the parts thus: *Ko-come Ne-pe-ca*. Then the meaning in Kootenay becomes plain: *Ko-come*, Fringed; *Ne-pe-ca*, Manitou, or Fringed Manitou.²³ As no one but Ross uses it, he may, as a part of his life was devoted to studying Indian languages, have asked her the Kootenay for her fringed garments and for Great Spirit (because of her prophecies), and received the answer, *Ko-come Ne-pe-ca*, Fringed Manitou. To Thompson, who knew her best, she was merely the Kootenay wom-

²³ Boas, Franz. *Kutenai Tales*. Washington Government Printing Office, 1918. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59.

an, Kootenaes. Even if *Ko-come Ne-pe-ca* can be proved to be her only name at Astoria, she may, as Indians were prone to do, have changed it to Bundosh, or to any other name that happened to strike her fancy.

C. The Woman Bundosh—Bundosh appears at about the time the Astoria character fades away, and her age and position in the tribe correspond to that of the earlier Kootenay woman, if we conceive of the earlier woman as living on. Bundosh, judging from records by Work and Gray, was a woman of influence, a leading character, associating with white men and chiefs, not only chiefs of her own native tribe, but chiefs of Flatheads and Blackfeet. She was shrewd, as was the earlier Kootenay woman. Her man-like role is taken for granted, as if fully established. She speaks Kootenay, Flathead, Blackfeet; she is a recognized peace messenger, going from Flatheads to Blackfeet and return even when, according to Gray,²⁴ the two tribes "are in a perfect state of anarchy." Gray speaks of Bundosh exactly as does Thompson of Ross's *Ko-come-ne-pe-ca*, simply as the "Kootenie woman." She was brave, as was the woman Stuart described to Sir John Franklin. When two Blackfeet arrive in the Flathead camp in the midst of a scalp dance (five Blackfeet scalps!), Gray says,²⁵ "On arriving at this moment a death paleness is on their countenances." But Bundosh seemingly goes about her mission, delivers Bird's letter to Ermatinger, and counsels Flatheads to peace.

D. Heroic Death of Bundosh—Bundosh had been galloping back and forth, back and forth between Flatheads and Blackfeet during the moon for digging the bitter root (May) and well on into the moon for going to the buffalo hunt (June). Three separate bands of Blackfeet had a single band of Flatheads virtually surrounded. Ermatinger, for a few paltry peltries, had foolishly sold abundance of ammunition to the three Blackfeet bands, enemies of the tribe of Flatheads with which he was traveling. By going stoically on that last journey to the Blackfeet (the Beaver-head band under the half-breed chief, Bird) Bundosh deceived the Blackfeet while the Flatheads, as she knew, were making their only possible break-away to Fort Hall and the Rendezvous, where they would be safe. She died voluntarily to save a Flathead tribe with which she had long been on intimate terms, especially in the capacity of peace envoy.

E. Francois Saxa's Account—In 1916, on St. Ignatius Day, I

²⁴ Gray. *op. cit.* p. 44.

²⁵ Gray. *op. cit.* p. 37.

visited at his home near Arlee, Montana, an old Indian, Francois Saxa, then 91 years of age, son of Grand Ignace (Ignace Saxa), Iroquois apostle of the Flatheads. The one purpose of my visit was to find out all I could about Francois's illustrious father, martyred at the Ash Hollow massacre two months after the death of Bundosh, while he was with Gray's party on the way to St. Louis. My notebook for that visit contains only what Francois told me of Grand Ignace; but as Mr. T. C. Elliott had two years previously suggested that Bundosh might be *Ko-come-ne-pe-ca*, I remember asking the aged Indian about that, and the substance of his reply. He knew Bundosh well; she was a great friend of his father; she was about his father's age; she helped his father teach religion to the Saleesh (the tribe that white people call Flatheads); she was a peace messenger; she was killed because she purposely delayed the peace talk while the Saleesh were escaping. He was sure that she was a strong woman; surely she was a great prophetess. He did not think that she had ever been named *Ko-come-ne-pe-ca*, but she had formerly called herself Ignace Onton, at the time when she was a great warrior, before she became a peace messenger. She was, he said, an inter-tribal peace court.

His account tallied so well with Gray's journal (published in the *Whitman College Quarterly* three years previously) that I did not take down his words verbatim, as I should have done. I did, however, take down all that he told me about his father, and because one part differs from Gray's account, I here note it, to the effect that Gray betrayed Grand Ignace and the sons of Chief Big Face at Ash Hollow, because of "jealousness for the blackgowns that my father wished to bring back." Gray's version was that Gray and the white man escaped massacre merely because they were white men, as the Sioux had made a treaty with President Jackson.

F. Counter Considerations—These center around Franklin's narrative, which, as before noticed, was second, third, even fourth hand. According to Franklin the manlike woman died from a wound received in battle sometime prior to 1827. Also, according to this account, she was of a delicate frame. But John Stuart may have seen her but the once, when she was suffering from a wound in the breast; he may have over-emphasized here a quality which none of the others noted. Ross speaks of her and her "wife" as "bold adventurous amazons." The account of her death was fourth hand—from natives to traders to John Stuart to Franklin. The report may therefore, like the premature announcement of the death of

Mark Twain, have been "greatly exaggerated." In this case the story of the Kootenay woman whom Thompson knew so well would most naturally merge into the story of Bundosh, "Kootenie woman," who, according to both Work and Gray, masqueraded as a man and could speak the Flathead language so well.

Unpublished journals may throw further light on Kootenay masculine masqueradings. The case as it stands now is, it seems to me, rather strong for Mr. T.C. Elliott's surmise that the two known cases are in fact one.

O. B. SPERLIN.

THE HISTORY OF BRICK MAKING IN AND AROUND VANCOUVER

The Hudson's Bay Company were the first to make brick in Vancouver, some time before 1846. Their yard was located on the low land west of the city, not far from the present railroad passenger station. Frank DuPuis told me that he often saw the old pits as he went that way to the old Petran place to play. This was a soft mud yard, as were all the early yards here and in the Portland area.

The clay in this locality is located in shallow deposits on the surface, so when one wanted to make brick in those early days, he would select the clay as near the sight on which the brick were to be used as possible and start the yard. A level drying ground was prepared with a kiln ground on one side and soak pits on the other. These pits were about four feet deep and large enough to hold clay for 8000 brick—a day's run. The mill was an upright box about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square in the center of which was a wooden shaft with knives for pugging the clay. The shaft was turned by a sweep on the end of which was hitched a horse. Three of these pits and mills were usually used by one crew consisting of one moulder, one temperer, two off-bearers and one pit man who usually had a horse and dump cart, a total of five men and two horses. This crew would place on the drying yard 8000 brick, the quality depending on the moulder and the skill of the crew. The moulder stood in a hole dug beside a table on which a bar of plastic clay was squeezed from the mill by the pony as he traveled round and round. The moulder with his two hands would cut off a block of clay large enough for a brick. This he would throw into a sanded mould holding six brick. After filling the mould he would strike off the surplus clay and the mould would be taken away by the off-bearer who dumped them on the drying yard. I saw one man, Victor Coiteux, mould 1,200,000 brick in one Summer, i.e., 150 days. He probably averaged moulding 300,000 brick each year for more than twenty-five years—a very remarkable man.

The brick were placed on the yard in rows and after a few hours of sun they were turned up and bobbed, i.e., hit with a board to help smooth them up a bit. After drying a day or so, depending on the weather, they were hacked up on boards for further drying. It was not necessary to hack them during the fine weather of July and August and they were usually wheeled direct from the yard to

the scove kiln. The setting was the same as in the scove kilns today. Wood was used for fuel and from ten to fourteen days were required for a good burn.

Nine or ten soft-mud yards have been in operation in and around Vancouver at different times. The one at 15th and Main Streets started in 1871 by L. M. Hidden operated continuously until 1928, when it was moved to 27th and Kauffman Avenue. For many years it was operated as a hand yard. The brick were used in the early Vancouver buildings, also in Portland and Astoria and, after the Seattle fire, 900,000 were shipped to Tacoma to build the Tacoma Hotel.

About 1900, this hand yard was changed by installing a Potts soft-mud machine, the brick being dried on pallets in the open yard. The founder retired at this time and the business was carried on by his two sons Foster and Oliver Hidden under the firm name of Hidden Brothers until 1929, when the yard was moved to its new location by Foster Hidden, to be known as Hidden Brick Company, his brother having retired from the business.

There have been a number of brick factories outside of the city in Clark County, using the stiff-mud, wire-cut process. The one at Image, five miles east of Vancouver, was burned a few years ago and has not been rebuilt. The clay from this pit is used by Gladding McBean in their Portland sewer pipe plant.

R. B. Muffatt operates a brick and tile plant near Ridgefield, Washington. They have a fine bed of clay.

The Molyneux brick yard, a small wire cut plant operated for a few years on Salmon Creek about six miles North of Vancouver.

The Farger Lake plant located about 26 miles northeast of Vancouver, have been producing a light-colored wire cut brick.

The Portland area for many years was supplied with soft-mud, hand-made brick, some of the yards employing six or more moulders; later, this was changed to machine made, soft-mud brick. Now they have all passed out of existence and the wire-cut brick has taken its place.

There is much to say for the soft-mud brick produced in this locality. They have a beautiful, cherry-red color which is mellowed to a softer tone by age, as shown by St. James Cathedral in Vancouver.

W. FOSTER HIDDEN.

THE NORTH IDAHO ANNEXATION ISSUE

The tourist who follows the Yellowstone Trail from Missoula to Spokane climbs the Bitterroot mountains and on the summit of the pass leaves the state of Montana and enters Idaho. Here a mountain range separates two political divisions. A few hours later he crosses the Idaho-Washington line in the level valley of the Spokane, where the dividing line is entirely artificial. He has crossed the Idaho Panhandle, and may wonder why, in a land where it would seem that the topography would determine the political areas, this narrow strip of Idaho along the western slopes of the Bitterroot range should be wedged in between the bulky masses of Montana and Washington.

Idaho extends from the forty-second parallel on the south to the forty-ninth on the north. Its area comprises some 83,000 square miles and over 80% of this lies south of the forty-sixth parallel. This extension of the state north of the parallel contains less than one-fifth of its surface and lies across the railroads and the principal routes of travel which run from East to West. For many years and until the building of the North and South Highway, the person who wished to go from North Idaho to Boise, the state capital, had to make a circuitous journey through neighboring states.

The late Harvey Scott once wrote in an *Oregonian* editorial: "It has always been held by many people that the Old Oregon country, when cut up into territories which were subsequently erected into states, was very badly divided."¹ He was referring to the Panhandle strip as an example of inconvenient and faulty division. Because of these conditions the citizens living in the northern counties tried to separate from the rest of Idaho Territory and either to establish a new territory or to be annexed to Washington. Although the crux of the matter lay in the separation of the Panhandle from South Idaho, the annexation idea was so constantly in the minds of the people at the time when its attainment seemed possible and so often was the attempt designated as the "Annexation" movement in the newspapers of the period, that the term has been employed in the title of this article. It began to be a political and economic issue soon after the removal of the territorial capital to Boise in 1864 and continued until the admission of Idaho as a state in 1890.

The story of the way the Panhandle came to be formed goes

¹ *The Oregonian*, June 13, 1907.

back to the days of the Civil War, when matters that seemed of minor importance received a casual and hasty treatment. When Washington Territory was organized in 1853, its southern boundary was the Columbia river to its intersection with the forty-sixth parallel, and from this point it followed the said parallel to the main range of the Rocky mountains. Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859 with its present metes and bounds, and all the eastern part of Oregon Territory which had been cut off when the state was created was joined for the time being to Washington Territory. Washington Territory from 1859 to 1863 included the present states of Washington and Idaho, the northwestern part of Montana, and the southwestern part of Wyoming. The only change that occurred in these four years was the transfer, in 1861, from Washington Territory, of a strip east of the thirty-third meridian (Washington) and lying between the forty-second and forty-third parallels of latitude. This was incorporated into Nebraska Territory.²

The Indian wars in the region of the upper Columbia were ended in 1858, and an influx of prospectors and settlers followed. Placer gold mines were discovered in the valley of the Clearwater in 1860, and in the Salmon river country in 1861. Warrens and Boise Basin were found in 1862. By 1863, several thousand men were working in the mining camps, while many hundreds were employed in packing food and implements to the miners. Supply points like Walla Walla and Lewiston gave promise of becoming permanent towns.

There was a need now for a government in the interior less remote than the Washington territorial government at Olympia. And at the same time an opinion was growing in the Puget Sound country that both sections would be better off if separated. In an editorial in the *Washington Standard* (Olympia), April 5, 1862, Mr. John Miller Murphy argued that the time had come for a division, "in order that the mining portion may be able to form a system of laws which will suit their peculiar circumstances, and thus avoid that conflict of interests which must result from an attempt to bring them under the control of laws now in operation and which are well suited to the agricultural portion of our territory." The editor went on to argue for a boundary line running north from the northeast corner of the state of Oregon, as such a division would leave Washington a territory of good shape and reasonable size with large and valuable

agricultural areas east of the Cascades to balance the commercial and lumbering interests west of the mountains.

Later in the year, November 1, 1862, the *Standard* printed the following editorial from *The Golden Age* of Lewiston: "Several of our leading citizens, after an exchange of views touching our present position in Washington territory, have decided to make a movement toward dividing the territory, and a committee has been appointed to confer with the citizens in every mining town or camp east of the Cascades. We are glad to see this movement on the part of our citizens. We should much prefer to enter the Union as a state, but if we cannot do so, as our sister state California did, let us enter the Union as the Territory of Idaho. The committee proposes to take the Columbia river down to the Oregon state line as its western boundary; the northern, eastern, and southern boundaries will be such states or territories as are contiguous to us. This will give the Territory of Idaho about one hundred thousand square miles, and in five years, we predict it will prove one of the richest states in the confederacy."

The *Standard* in commenting on the above heartily approved the idea of division, but objected to the separation of the Walla Walla region and the establishment of the Columbia as the western boundary of Idaho. "It is more reasonable that our domains should extend far enough east to give Washington Territory an area equal to Oregon, so that we may hope to be admitted as a state sometime during the century."

An unsuccessful attempt was made in the Washington legislature of 1860-61 to memorialize Congress to create a territory embracing the new settlements in the interior, to be known as the territory of Walla Walla.³ In 1863, a proposal to get legislative backing from the same source in favor of the organization of a state of Idaho was defeated in the lower house, after passing the Council on the last day of the session, January 29, 1863.⁴ The majority in the Washington territorial legislature representing the people west of the Cascades was not yet ready to support the political aspirations of the people of the interior, but Congress had already taken the preliminary steps to form a new territory in the mining regions.

On the 15th of December, 1862, Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois, introduced a resolution that the Committee on Territories should be instructed to inquire into the propriety of establishing a territorial government for that region of the country in which were situated

³ Wash. House Journal, 1860-61, pp. 410-411.

⁴ Wash. House Journal, 1862-63, p. 220.

the Salmon river gold mines, and that they should report by bill or otherwise.⁵ The first result of the Committee's activity was reported to the House seven days after the Kellogg resolution, but the bill which embodied the final judgment of the Committee was not acted upon until February 12, 1863, when Mr. Ashley, Chairman of the Committee, reported back H. B. 738 to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Montana, with a recommendation for its passage.⁶ There was a brief debate; an effort to strike out the clause forbidding slavery in the territory was lost, 38 to 96; and the bill passed by a vote of 85 to 39. In H.B. 738, the proposed Territory of Montana included all the present state of Wyoming except a quadrangular area in the southwestern part, of about 4000 square miles; all of Idaho south of the forty-sixth parallel; and the southwest corner of Montana, with an area of some 15,000 square miles. It will be noted that it had its main axis running east and west.⁷

On the following day, February 13, H.B. 738 was received by the Senate, referred to the Senate Committee on Territories, and the next day Mr. Wade,⁸ Chairman of the Committee, reported the bill to the Senate without amendments. Here the matter stood and nothing further was done until the last day of the life of the 37th Congress, March 3rd, 1863. That was a fateful day in the history of North Idaho.

The bill came up in due order⁹ and Senator Doolittle (Wis.) urged as a practical matter the consideration of the Montana bill. Grimes (Iowa) inquired where the proposed territory was situated. Ten Eyck (N.J.), Wilkinson (Minn.), Davis (Kan.) and Nesmith (Ore.) advocated its consideration and Nesmith declared that in consequence of the gold discoveries, 50,000 to 60,000 men would be in the region in the next few months.

On the other hand, Harris (N.J.), and Howe (Wis.) opposed consideration. Harris stated that according to his information there

⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 37th Congress, third session, p. 94.

⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 37th Congress, third session, p. 914.

⁷ Boundaries according to the House bill: Commencing at a point formed by the intersection of the forty-fifth degree of north latitude with the twenty-seventh degree of longitude west from Washington; thence due west on the forty-fifth degree of north latitude to a point formed by its intersection with the thirty-third degree of longitude west from Washington; thence due north along the thirty-third degree of longitude to its intersection with the forty-sixth degree of latitude; thence west along the forty-sixth degree of latitude to a point formed by its intersection with the eastern boundary of the State of Oregon in the channel of the Snake river; thence south along the boundary line of Oregon till it intersects with the forty-second degree of north latitude; thence east along the forty-second degree of latitude to a point formed by its intersection with the thirty-third degree of longitude west from Washington; thence south along the thirty-second degree of longitude to a point formed by its intersection with the forty-first degree of north latitude; thence east along the forty-first degree of latitude to a point formed by its intersection with the twenty-seventh degree of longitude west from Washington; thence north along the twenty-seventh degree of longitude to the place of beginning.

⁸ The Senate Committee on Territories: Wade, Wilkinson, Hale, Browning, Lane (Kansas), Carlyle, Wilson (Missouri).

⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 37th Congress, third session, p. 1509.

were few people and no settled population in the proposed territory. Howe urged the importance of substituting civil government for military control in those parts of the Confederate states occupied by the Union armies. It was the last day; civil government seemed to him a vital necessity, and he urged the postponement of the Montana question.

In reply, Wilkinson (Minn.) urged that other business should be laid aside so that consideration might be had on the measure, and Nesmith seconded his efforts. The senior senator from Oregon remarked that there were 15,000 to 20,000 people already in the proposed territory. The Senate proceeded with the consideration of the bill.

(*To be continued*)

DOCUMENTS

Start of Territorial Government

Soon after his arrival at Olympia, Governor Isaac I. Stevens issued his proclamation calling on the people of the new Territory of Washington to begin their own government. It is, of course, deemed important and one of the initial documents in the history of this Commonwealth. To inform the people as to the contents of the proclamation, the Governor caused it to be printed as a broadside of these columns, the type-face measuring seven and a quarter by nine inches. A copy of the original broadside, now yellow with age, was saved by the late Harry B. McElroy of Olympia. His widow recently presented it with other documents of historical value to the present writer at the same time that she presented many additional documents to the Library of the University of Washington. The proclamation is here reproduced from this original broadside edition.—EDITOR.

A PROCLAMATION

By the Governor of the Territory of Washington

Whereas, by the 4th section of an Act of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, entitled "An act to establish the Territorial government of Washington," it is provided that the first election in said Territory "shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the Governor shall appoint and direct: and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the Council and House of Representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act; and the Governor shall, by his proclamation, give at least sixty days' previous notice of such apportionment, and of the time, places and manner of holding such election."

And whereas, by the 14th section of said Act it is provided "That a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the Legislative Assembly who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as have been before exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other Territories of the United States to the House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected

shall hold his seat only during the term of the Congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places and be conducted in such manner, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; of which and the time, place and manner of holding such elections he shall give at least sixty days' notice by proclamation."

And whereas by the 18th section of said act it is further provided "That until otherwise provided by law the Governor of said Territory may define the judicial districts of said Territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said Territory to the several districts, and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation, to be issued by him."

Now, therefore, Be it known that I, Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of the Territory of Washington, by virtue of the authority vested in me by said Act, do appoint and direct, that the first election for the members of the Council and House of Representatives of the Legislature of the Territory of Washington and of the first Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, shall be held on Monday the 30th day of January A.D. 1854, between the hours of 9 A.M. and 6 P.M.,—in the County of Clarke, at Columbia City, at Cascade City and Walepta—in the county of Lewis, at Monticello, Cowlitz Landing, and Jackson's precinct—in the county of Pacific, at Chinook City and Pacific City—in the county of Thurston, at Olympia, at Shoalwater Bay, at Chamber's Prairie, and at Ford's—in the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, and at Tallentire's—in the county of King, at Alki, and Seattle—in the county of Island, at Penn's Cove, and at Bellingham Bay—and in the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend and Port Ludlow.

The members to be elected to the Council to be apportioned as follows: To the counties of Island and Jefferson, one; to the counties of King and Pierce, two; to the county of Thurston, two; to the counties of Pacific and Lewis, two; and to the county of Clarke, two.

The members to be elected to the House of Representatives to be apportioned as follows: To the county of Island, one; to the county of Jefferson, one; to the county of King, one; to the county of Pierce, three; to the county of Thurston, four; to the county of Pacific, one; to the county of Lewis, two; and to the county of Clarke, five.

The Judicial Districts to be as follows: For the First District, the counties of Pacific and Clarke; for the Second District, the coun-

ties of Lewis and Thurston; and for the Third District, the counties of Pierce, King, Island and Jefferson.

Courts to be holden in the *First District*, for the county of Pacific, at Chinook City, on the second Monday of January 1854; for the county of Clarke, at Columbia City, on the third Monday of January 1854. In the *Second District*, for the county of Lewis, at Cowlitz Landing, on the first Monday of January 1854; for the county of Thurston, at Olympia, on the fifth Monday of January 1854. In the *Third District*, for the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, on the first Monday of February 1854; for the county of King, at Seattle, on the second Monday of February 1854; for the county of Island, at Coveland, on the third Monday of February 1854; and for the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend, on the fourth Monday of February 1854.

There shall be three Judges of election, hereinafter appointed, who shall mutually administer oath to each other, and have power to designate the house or building where the election shall be held. In case any Judge herein appointed shall neglect or fail to attend, those attending shall have power to fill vacancies. They shall appoint two clerks, and administer oath to them; shall by proclamation announce that the polls are open—proceed to open and hold the elections by ballot, and make returns thereof, under oath, to the Secretary of the Territory within five days after election, as provided by the laws of the Territory of Oregon.

The Judges hereby appointed for the various precincts of the Territory are as follows: In the county of Clarke, at Columbia City, William H. Dillon, Kinzie Caples, and George W. Malick; at Cascade City, S. M. Hamilton, George Griswold, and William Stevens; at Walepta, Lloyd Brook,—Bomford, and Cheruse.

In the county of Lewis, at Monticello, Harry Huntington, Seth Catlin, and Doctor Ostrander; at Cowlitz Landing, E. D. Warbass, S. Pagett and George Drew; at Jackson's Precinct, John R. Jackson, —Davis, and A. B. Dillimbough.

In the county of Pacific, at Chinook City, Washington Hall, James A. Scarborough, and G. P. Newell; at Pacific City, Jehu Scudder, J. D. Holman, and G. W. Tillotson.

In the county of Thurston, at Olympia, James K. Hurd, C. Crosby, and Edmund Sylvester; at Shoalwater Bay, John W. Champ, D. K. Welden, and John Vail; at Chamber's Prairie, Andrew Chambers, S. D. Ruddell, and Gilmore Hays; at Ford's Sidney Ford, J. W. Goodell, and Layton Case.

In the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, Lafayette Balch, Nicholas Delain, and John Chapman; at Tallentire's Thomas Tallentire, William P. Dougherty, and John Rigney; in the county of King, at Alki, C. C. Terry, Samuel W. Russell, and Hilary Butler; at Seattle, A. A. Denny, Henry L. Yesler, and D. S. Maynard.

In the county of Island, at Penn's Cove, Samuel Crockett, John Alexander, and S. D. Howe; at Bellingham Bay, William R. Pattle, Henry Roder, and John Dickinson.

In the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend, L. B. Hastings, F. W. Pettygrove, and Albert Briggs; at Port Ludlow, William T. Sayward, William Soule, and John Walker.

The members of the Legislature elected as herein provided will assemble at Olympia on Monday the twenty-seventh day of February A.D. 1854.

Given under my hand at Olympia, this twenty-eighth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three.

By the Governor,

I. I. STEVENS.

C. H. MASON,

Secretary of the Territory.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century. By HENRY R. WAGNER. (San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1929. Pp. viii, 571. \$15.00).

The story of the gradual uncovering of the western coast of America is one of mixed motives and thrilling adventure. In that exploration Spain led the way. Owing to Marco Polo's error, geographers supposed Asia to be contiguous to America or at any rate to be separated only by a narrow waterway. The vast Pacific was undreamed of. The questions to be settled included, for example: How far westward did America extend? Was it joined to Asia? If not, what was the intervening distance? To find the answers, to discover harbors for the use of the richly-laden Philippine ships, to seek out mines of gold and treasure, and to Christianize the heathen, Spain sent many expeditions from Panama northward and westward. How far she was really in earnest to find the Strait of Anian is, as our author points out, a debatable question (p. 284); claiming the exclusive fishery, commerce, and navigation of the Pacific Ocean she had all to lose by finding and making known a short route whereby her competitors might enter the South Sea.

This volume shows some of the early faltering steps of the Spaniard north and west: Ulloa, 1539-40; Mendoza and Alvarado, 1540-41; Bolanos, 1541; Cabrillo, 1542; Isla and Gali, 1582; Cermeño, 1595; and Vizcaino, 1596 and 1602-3. Before Ulloa's voyage Jiminez had discovered the southern part of Lower California, then and for many years believed to be an island. Ulloa traced the Gulf of California to its head and doubling Cape San Lucas followed the ocean coast as far as Cedros Island. The viceroy, Mendoza, arranged with Alvarado to prosecute discoveries to the northward and westward. As partners they despatched an expedition under Alarcon in 1540 to complete Ulloa's work in the Gulf of California. Two years later Mendoza sent out Cabrillo who, on his return, claimed to have reached 44° north latitude, though no landing was made beyond about 34°. Then came a lull for forty years. Gali, whom the viceroy esteemed as the best trained and most distinguished man in Mexico, sailed in 1582 from Acapulco to the Philippines, on to Macao, and thence to the American coast in latitude 37° 30' north, as given by Linschot and in the Portuguese account in this volume pp. 134 f; but by an error or worse the French translation of Linschot gave this as 57° 30' and thereby caused great confusion. Cermeño's expedition in 1595 from the Philippines to explore the port

of San Francisco, to ascertain its usefulness for the Manila galleons, is only interesting for the ill fate that befell it. Of all the voyages dealt with the only one that touches the Northwest Coast (taking that term to be synonymous with the coast of Old Oregon) is the second voyage of Vizcaino, 1602-3. His vessels separated. One sighted Cape Mendocino and reached 42° ; but that in which were Martin d'Aguilar and Flores stretched northward to 43° where they found a large river. Father Antonio de la Ascension says, p. 255:

"After the wind and sea calmed down, she went close to land, and on January 10 1603 Antonio Flores, the pilot, found himself in 43° . Here the land makes a cape or point, which was named "Cabo Blanco" and here the coast begins to trend to the north-east. Close to it a very copious and deep river was discovered on whose banks there were very large ash trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile. On attempting to enter it the force of the current did not permit it. Ensign Martin d'Aguilar, who commanded the *Fragata*, and the pilot, Antonio Flores, decided to return to New Spain, as they already had reached a higher latitude than the instructions of the Viceroy laid down. The *Capitana* did not appear, and they themselves as well as almost all the men on board were sick. Having charted the country, and named the river "Santa Inez," they set out."

And here the book ends. The subsequent Spanish work down to 1795 and which particularly interests the students of Northwest Coast history remains to be taken up, as we trust it will be, either by the California Historical Society or by some of the institutions of the Old Oregon region.

The plan adopted has been to give a translation of the account of the voyage with an introduction linking together the various expeditions and co-relating them; to the voyages are added notes, bibliographical, biographical, cartological, and general, into the preparation of which a vast amount of study has plainly entered; and to round out and complete the whole there are included photographic reproductions of some of the maps and many of the original manuscript reports. Though, as already stated, the work barely touches the coast north of 42° yet as a careful unfolding of the approach to that region this scholarly volume, embodying the latest research, will be welcomed by every student of the history of Old Oregon.

F. W. HOWAY.

Vigilantes, A Chronicle of the Rise and Fall of the Plummer Gang of Outlaws in and About Virginia City, Montana, in the Early 60's. By HOFFMAN BIRNEY. (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1929. Pp. 346. \$3.50).

Hoffman Birney has retold the story of the road agents and vigilantes of Montana with an attractiveness of style that makes the book worth while. The author's description of events closely follows the accounts in Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana*, and Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways*. While the earlier books left unnamed most of the Vigilantes, Birney not only names them but gives brilliant characterizations of them. James Williams, Paris Pfouts, John S. Lott, A. B. Davis, Charles Beehrer, who were hardly known as Vigilantes, come forth in this book as leaders of the movement. John Fetherstun, Neil Howie, and John X. Biedler are shown in a new light. Biedler's traditional heroism is somewhat dimmed by a portrayal of his blood thirstiness, and Williams is appropriately pictured as one of the fine men of the old West. Birney places Wilbur F. Sanders in more intimate association with the Vigilante organization than has ordinarily been done and he may be right. In addition the author has collected stray bits of information about the Vigilantes that gives the reader a better understanding of them.

Birney has made lengthy paraphrases and quotations from *Forty Years in the Frontier as Seen in the Journals and Reminiscences of Granville Stuart*, from *Henry Edgar's Journal*, and from other contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, but has avoided specific references to his sources of information. He has used the extensive collections of the Montana Historical Library and has doubtless consulted many old timers. He does not hesitate to use his imagination and reports conversations and describes events apparently on no authority whatever. Sometimes he is inaccurate as naming Virginia City, the first capital of Montana (p. 42) and Frenchtown in the Bitterroot valley (p. 305). He has studied carefully the immediate subject without attempting to understand the whole period. There are few typographical errors. One *Missouri* for Missoula (p. 302) should be noted. The book is well printed on attractive paper. It will doubtless be a long time before a better book will be written on the Vigilantes.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

Red Heroines of the Northwest. By BYRON DEFENBACII. Illustrated by original drawings and rare photographs. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1929. Pp. 300. \$2.50).

This is a delightfully written book, telling in a most interesting manner the story of the lives of three Indian women of the Northwest. The author has been at great pains to search out the scattered fragments which relate to these heroines, and then has pieced them together into a most entertaining narrative.

The first character is Sacajawea, whose association with the Lewis and Clark expedition added so much of the human touch to that famous journey. Madame Dorion, of the overland expedition to Astoria, is then depicted as the real heroine she was. In Jane, of the Nez Perces, a little known woman has been rescued from oblivion and made again to live.

The book is very valuable since it gives the historical setting of eventful chapters of this region in a manner which makes the characters real, and by centering the stories around these three noble women, the interest is intensified, and the background made a part of the picture.

The author has performed a most valuable service in vivifying the narratives of those heroic days, while the heroines are now assured of a sympathetic interest by the poetic romance he has depicted in their lives. It is hoped that he may portray other interesting characters in future books.

J. NEILSON BARRY.

A Ten-Year Program for the Seattle Public Library. By Committees of the Library Board and the Library Staff. (Seattle: The Argus Print, 1930. Pp. 88).

Students and collectors of Pacific Northwest Americana should not overlook an important historical document just issued by the Seattle Public Library. It has been prepared by the Librarian, Mr. Judson T. Jennings, assisted by Committees jointly composed of members of the Library Board and the Library Staff. As a comprehensive program for the future development of the Seattle Public Library it is planned primarily to set forth the steps to be taken and the support that will be needed if this institution is to keep pace with the future growth of the city. Attention has been given, however, to the past.

An historical sketch outlines the principal events in the development of the library from its beginning in 1868. A complete list of

the trustees is furnished and a number of Tables supply convenient historical data. One of these tables gives the population of Seattle year by year from 1889 to date together with population estimates continued yearly to 1940. Still another table supplies information in regard to the eight branch libraries indicating for each the date of opening, the cost of the building, and the amount expended for equipment.

This *Ten-Year Program* has been worked out with great care and its publication places the data conveniently in the hands of all interested in the development of an important educational agency. Members of the City Council will doubtless find its reasonable findings a helpful guide in the preparation of their annual budgets. A decade from now it will be a pleasure to check this publication and to find that the forecast has been surpassed by accomplishment.

The Story of the Hudson's Bay Company. By GEORGE P. SCRIVEN, United States Army, Retired. (Washington, D.C.: St. Anselin's Priory, 1929. Pp. 66. \$1.00).

This brief story of a great institution is told in a straight-forward interesting style. The footnotes show that greatest dependance was placed on Sir William Schooling's *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670 to 1920*, although Beckles Willson's *The Great Company* and other works are cited. On page 35 reference is made to the report of Mr. Charles R. Sale, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company on June 28, 1927. The quality of appreciation of the great company's work is shown by the last sentence: "That force, to which, rather than to the force of arms, England has owed her grandeur and well being throughout the centuries of brilliant life that began when her ships and her trade first found their way to distant shores beyond the seas."

Young Pioneers on Western Trails. By ORIVILLE H. KNEEN. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1929. Pp. 311. \$2.00).

The author's preface relates a personal encounter with a bear on a trail in the Cascades. He formerly lived at Bremerton and was a member of The Mountaineers. In this book he has rendered a real service for young readers by assembling materials so as to allow five famous explorers to relate in their own words wild experiences they had encountered while they were still boys or young men. The five are: "Samuel Hearne, first overland to the Arctic; Alexander Mackenzie, first overland to the Pacific; Zebulon Montgomery Pike,

first into the Southwest; James Ohio Pattie, boy trapper who ranged from the Yellowstone to Mexico City; Kit Carson, master scout."

Iron and Steel Manufacture in Washington, Oregon, California and Utah. By JOSEPH DANIELS (Seattle: University of Washington Engineering Experiment Station, 1929. Pp. 69. \$0.65).

Professor Daniels contributed much of this material to the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July, 1927. In bringing it down to date for publication in this present form he has made additions and corrections through further research work.

Stories of Western Pioneers. By HERBERT BASHFORD. (San Francisco: Harr Wagner Publishing Company, 1928. Pp. 192).

This child's book treats of such pioneers as Lewis and Clark, Jedediah Smith, Dr. John McLoughlin Kit Carson, John C. Frémont, Ezra Meeker, Dr. Marcus Whitman, John Muir and others. The frontispiece is a fine picture of Ezra Meeker. The language is clear and simple and there are study questions at the end of each chapter.

Who's Who in Oregon. (Oregon City, Oregon: Oregon City Enterprise, 1929. Pp. 241).

The preface by the publishers indicates clearly the immense labor and difficulty in compiling Volume I of such an undertaking. Some people could not be persuaded that they would not have to pay for the items or buy the book when published. Omissions are therefore disclaimed by the compilers. Lewis A. McArthur has furnished a valuable introduction entitled "The People of Oregon." Two pages of compact paragraphs give historical and economic facts about Oregon. Four pages of abbreviations permit unusual brevity in the biographies, which rarely attain two inches in length. That space is here sufficient for the essential facts about Congressman Willis Chatman Hawley, one of the authors of the widely discussed tariff bill of 1930. The book is well made. It is surely worth while. It deserves the encouragement to insure expansion and continuance in biennial volumes as planned.

Romance of the Gateway Through the Cascade Range. By SAMUEL CHRISTOPHER LANCASTER. (Portland, Oregon: The J. K. Gill Company, 1929. Pp. 32).

This sumptuously illustrated booklet is well worth attention from those who enjoy, collect and save beautiful items of Pacific

Northwest Americana. The author was the engineer of the famous Columbia River Highway. Here is the record of its wonderful beauty. Among the illustrations is a full-page comparison of the Vendome Column and the Astoria Column, dedicated by the Great North Railway Company during its Columbia River Historical Expedition in 1926.

Our Sea Saga, The Wood Wind Ships. Edited by EDMOND OGDEN SAWYER, JR. (San Francisco: The Editor, 1929. Pp. 225. \$5.00).

Mr. Sawyer desclaims being an author, saying that he is in the trade paper field. He has had extensive newspaper experience on the Pacific Coast from Alaska to California. He was assistant editor of the *Seattle Star* in 1913-1914. The dedicatory page says: "To Miller Freeman. In other days you were part of our sea saga."

Mr. Sawyer regrets the decadence of the American merchant marine since the days of the Civil War. He hopes the young men and boys may again put out to sea. In a letter he says: "If this book tends to engender a little interest in the thought that we should maintain a position on the high seas comparable to our place in world commerce and manufacturing, it will have achieved its purpose."

The book may go far in that desired direction. It is profusely illustrated with pictures of ships and of seagoing men. The style is clear and direct. There is a copious index. Another advantage is its timeliness while nations are holding conferences to limit sea power.

Last Days of Sail on the West Coast. By WALTER MACARTHUR. (San Francisco: The Author, 1929. Pp. 138).

The colored frontispiece and photographic illustrations with added tables of many sailing craft are attractive features of this interesting record of San Francisco harbor. The last pages are devoted to Amundsen's sloop Gjoa, which will win favor in the Puget Sound region where the memory of Roald Amundsen, the great son of Norway, is held in high esteem.

Frontiers, the Genius of American Nationality. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929. Pp. 266. \$3.00 net).

Professor Hulbert has had an unusual preparation for work such as he has packed into these pages. He has traveled hundreds

of thousands of miles throughout the Republic and has published such works as *Historic Highways of America*, *The Making of the American Republic*, *Transcontinental Trails* and others. In this present book he spurns "preface" and "foreword" but in what he calls "Note" he quotes from Washington "Be a nation; be American and be true to yourselves." He then uses those three phrases as the titles to the three parts of his book. He seeks to analyze and interpret the frontiers, physical, commercial and spiritual, the conquest of which has made America. The spirit of the work is shown by a prominently placed quotation from Thoreau:

"The frontiers are not east or west, north or south, but wherever a man fronts a fact."

He treats the successive frontiers of the West (pages 127-128) and on page 165 is found the following: "No railway of the present bears the same strategical relationship to the Alleghenies that Nema-colin's Path once bore, nor one which singly serves so great a section as once did the Oregon Trail."

It is a useful book and carries a satisfactory index.

Vernon Louis Parrington, American Scholar. By JOSEPH B. HARRISON. (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1929. Pp. 32. \$0.65.)

Friends and admirers of Professor Parrington will rejoice over the prompt appearance of this fine tribute to his memory in the choice series known as University of Washington Chapbooks, founded by a colleague, Professor Glenn Hughes, and held in high esteem by Professor Parrington. In fact he was the author of Number 5 in the series. It bore the title of *Sinclair Lewis: Our Own Diogenes*. Professor Harrison is also a watchful friend of the Chapbooks. He was the author of the first issue: *A Short View of Menckenism—In Menckenesse*.

In this present issue Professor Harrison has thrown his own soul into the attempt to evaluate the life and purposes of his colleague and friend. At the beginning is reproduced Professor Parrington's beautiful, self-revealing poem entitled: "Apologia Pro Vita Mea." Professor Harrison says: "No one who knew Vernon Louis Parrington well enough to write about him can do so without feeling the kindly restraint of his humorous eye upon the page. He was not a man who would have indulged very seriously any ambitious eulogy of himself or his work." In that vein follows the cordial and appreciative record of a notable career.

Ecological Succession in the San Juan Islands. By NORMAN S. HAYNOR. (Reprint from Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXIII., 1929. Pp. 81 to 92.)

The San Juan Archipelago is such a clear-cut entity that scientists of differing fields are attracted there for study. The Puget Sound Biological Station is the greatest of such enterprises. In 1927 the University of Washington Press published R. D. McLellan's *The Geology of the San Juan Islands*. Professor Haynor of the University of Washington, has now published a sociological study of the same interesting area. The abstract of his study is as follows:

"The San Juan Islands are located in the Northern part of the Puget Sound region where they form a natural area that is identical with San Juan County, Washington. Many of the first settlers were disappointed gold-seekers who raised sheep or cattle as the principle means of livelihood. A rapid increase of population during the eighties was associated with agricultural development and an expansion of the lime industry. Fruit raising and the growth of the fishing industry facilitated a steady increase in population during the next two decades. By 1910, however, the population of the islands seems to have reached a saturation point for the existing economic base and since 1920 the trend in the county as a whole has been downward. Ecological succession on the larger islands of this archipelago may be divided into three stages: (1) the pioneer stage (1853-80); (2) the village stage (1881-1910); (3) the island-unit stage (1911 —). Two types of data have been used as criteria for determining these stages: (1) statistics showing population trends and changes in the economic base, (2) maps showing successive spatial patterns of distribution and integration."

On Puget Sound. By ROBERT WALKINSHAW. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929. Pp. 294. \$3.50.)

The author is a lawyer in Seattle. Few of his business associates suspected that he had any idea of branching out into the realm of fine literature. But, he is also an active member of The Mountaineers and none of his friends in that organization were surprised at the choice phrase or the keen observation manifested on each page of this delicious book. It is a work of appreciative description cleverly fortified with historical backgrounds. There will be readers and they will go forth better equipped to enjoy the natural beauties of this favored region. In that result will Mr. Walkinshaw measure his greatest compensation.

The author dedicates his book to the pioneers of Puget Sound. He evidently loves them. He sought to surprise them with a fine tribute. His wife joined in the enterprise. The twenty-one drawings embellishing the volume are credited to Jeanie Walter Walkinshaw.

The End of the Open Range in Eastern Montana. By ROBERT S. FLETCHER. (Reprint from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI., No. 2, September, 1929. Pp. 188 to 211).

This compact and informative essay tells the dramatic story of conflicts between cattle companies and with the oncoming settlers. A sample of the entire process is revealed in a footnote on page 200, an extract from the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office* for 1885, page 52, as follows:

"A 'cattle king' employs a number of men as herders; 'cowboys' is the popular designation for them. The herd is located on a favorable portion of the public lands, where grass, water, and shelter are convenient, and each herder is expected and required to make a timber-culture entry of lands along the stream. These entries often very nearly if not quite occupy all the watered lands in a township and render the remainder undesirable for actual settlement for farming purposes."

Polk, the Diary of a President, 1845-1849. Edited by ALLEN NEVINS. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929. Pp. 412. \$5.00).

The Chicago Historical Society possesses the original of Polk's Diary. In 1910, A. C. McClurg and Company published the entire work in four volumes edited by Dr. Milo Milton Quaife. By authority granted, selections have been made and used by Professor Nevins for this present work. Western readers will find interest in the portions relating to the Mexican War, the conquest of California, the experiences of Frémont and the treaty with Great Britain extending the forty-ninth parallel boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

Readings in the Economic and Social History of the United States. By FELIX FLUGEL and HAROLD U. FAULKNER. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929. Pp. 978. \$3.75).

This extensive and valuable collection of materials is divided into the following three parts:

"Part I. The Revolutionary War and the Struggle for Economic Independence, 1775-1820.

"Part II. Economic Expansion, 1820 to the Civil War.

"Part III. Economic Expansion Since the Civil War."

Appendices and indexes add greatly to the usefulness of the book as a tool for intensive study.

A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600-1800) in the City of New York. By EVARTS B. GREENE and RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Pp. 357. \$7.50).

The title clearly shows the scope of this book as an adequate tool for those working in New York in the important field of early American history. The materials listed and appropriately arranged are startling in amount and value. The limitations of dates preclude the listing of materials relating directly to the Pacific Northwest.

Roumania Ten Years After. By THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND MINORITIES. (Boston: The Beacon Press, Inc., 1929. Pp. 143).

A commission of five prominent churchmen made a survey of matters pertaining to religious rights and expressed the hope that this report would be informative to the large committee in America who sent them but also of "constructive suggestion to the Roumanian government when it has had an opportunity to see how the situation looks to outside and imprejudiced persons."

Europe: A History of Ten Years. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Pp. 452. \$2.00).

The author has been Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association since 1927. He has had extensive academic experience and is the author of a number of other books, mostly on international relations. This book, dealing with Europe since the World War, has had five printings since its first appearance in September, 1928. That fact is eloquent of its merits. The present edition is revised with addition of new materials.

Captain Cook Sesquicentennial, Hawaii 1928. By ALBERT PIERCE TAYLOR, LIBRARIAN, Archives of Hawaii. (Honolulu: Captain Cook Sesquicentennial Commission and the Archives of Hawaii Commission, 1929. Pp. 105).

Great care and labor have gone into this record of the elaborate

and extensive ceremonies in Hawaii during the summer of 1928. Pictures of memorial tablets, historic scenes and notable participants illuminate the volume. An extensive appendix adds many items of historical value. The six main addresses here reproduced were as follows:

Address of Welcome by Governor William R. Farrington.

Address by Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis on "Early Relations of Hawaii and the United States."

Address by Judge Frederick W. Howay, F.R.G.S., on "Hawaii and the Pacific Northwest."

Address of Professor Frank A. Golder, on "Proposals for Russian Occupation of the Hawaiian Islands."

Address of George Verne Blue on "The Policy of France Toward the Hawaiian Islands."

Address of Dr. Peter H. Buck on "Hawaii's Place in Polynesia."

Congress aided by authorizing a commemorative coin the sale of which was to provide a fund to establish in Honolulu a Captain Cook Collection. This has been done. Acknowledgment is also made of a number of gifts including photostat copies of rare items from Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, B.C.

A Voyage from the Columbia to California in 1840 from the Journal of Sir James Douglas. By HERMAN ALEXANDER LEADER. (San Francisco: Quarterly of the California Historical Society, June 1929. Pp. 21).

This reprinted article relates a journey of James Douglas to California in the interest of Hudson's Bay Company fur trappers in the valleys of California and especially in "New Helvetia" where Sutter had threatened to use force against the unwelcome trappers. Douglas adjusted matters at least temporarily.

Northwest Sahaptin Texts, 1. By MELVILLE JACOBS. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929. Pp. 175 to 244. \$0.75).

This is Number 6 of Volume 2 in the series on Anthropology. The author is an instructor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington. The texts recorded in scientific characters are accompanied by translations in English.

A Grammar of the Wappo Language. By PAUL RADIN. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929. Pp. 194. \$2.50).

The California series on Anthropology reaches Volume 27 with

this work. The table of contents is practically a syllabus and shows the careful, systematic method of the author's study. He is evidently of the Boaz school of workers in this field.

Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora. By IRVING A. LEONARD. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929. Pp. 287. \$3.50).

The Encomienda in New Spain, Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550. By LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929. Pp. 297. \$3.50).

These are Volumes 18 and 19 of the University of California Publications in History. Like a number of others in the same series, they are devoted to Spanish-American history. The first one is the record of a colorful savant whose span of years was from 1645 to 1700. His work was largely in Mexico. The second volume deals with the Spanish attitude toward native labor during the first half century of the Spanish regime. Both works are scholarly, well documented and thoroughly indexed.

Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1926-1927. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. 555. \$2.25).

There are four accompanying papers, one of which relates to the West Coast—"Exploration of the Burton Mound at Santa Barbara, California," by John P. Harrington. The book, including illustrations, type, and form, is of the usual high standard.

Ethnological Bulletins. By BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929).

A group of six Bulletins bearing numbers from 88 to 93 as follows:

John R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians.* Pp. 275. \$1.00.

Truman Michelson, *Observations on the Thunder Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians.* Pp. 73. \$0.65.

Frances Densmore, *Papago Music,* Pp. 229. \$1.25.

Walter E. Roth, *Additional Studies of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians.* Pp. 110. \$1.00.

Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., *Shabik 'Eshchee Village, a Late Basket Maker Site in the Chaco Canyon New Mexico.* Pp. 164. \$1.00.

Frances Densmore, *Pawnee Music.* Pp. 129. \$0.90.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. *Annual Report for the Year 1925.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929. Pp. 133. \$0.60).
- BISHOP, WARD L. *An Economic Analysis of the Constitutional Restrictions upon Municipal Indebtedness in Illinois.* University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XVI, No. I. (Urbana: University of Illinois. Pp. 113. \$1.00).
- CANADIAN NORTH-WEST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan.* (Battleford: Society, 1929. Pp. 160).
- HOLBROOK, FRANKLIN F. *St. Paul and Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918.* (St. Paul: Ramsey County War Records Commission, 1929. Pp. 588).
- HUNT, ROCKWELL D. and SANCHEZ, NELLIE VAN DE GRIFF. *A Short History of California.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, c1929. Pp. 671).
- ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. *Twentieth Biennial Report, 1926-1928.* (Springfield: Society, 1929. Pp. 15).
- KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Twenty-sixth Biennial Report, 1926-1928.* (Topeka: Society, 1929. Pp. 149).
- MORE, BROOKES. *Adventured Values.* (Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, c1929. Pp. 153).
- NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA. *Annual Report for 1928.* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929. Pp. 38).
- PRIESTLEY, HERBERT INGRAM. *The Coming of the White Man 1492-1848.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Pp. 411).
- TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Historical Papers. Double Series XVIII-XIX. The Arnold Letters.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1929. Pp. 178).
- VINELAND HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. *Annual Report for the Year Ending Oct. 8, 1929.* (Vineland: Society. Pp. 18).

NEWS DEPARTMENT
Centennial of Oregon Trail

The Oregon Trail Memorial Association, 95 Madison Avenue, New York City, is carrying on the work of marking the famous Oregon Trail from the place where the late Ezra Meeker left. An attractive pamphlet is being sent broadcast to stir interest. President Hoover has helped by a proclamation announcing the centennial to be from April 10 to December 29, 1930. The first date refers to the wagon train of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, fur traders, which left Saint Louis for South Pass on April 10, 1830. The second date refers to the birth of Ezra Meeker.

Communities along the Trail are arranging for appropriate celebrations. A debate has developed between Seaside, Oregon, and Olympia, Washington, as to which can rightfully proclaim itself the western terminus of the Trail. It may be that both cities will go forward and let their participants rejoice in a feeling of certainty. There was a ceremony in Olympia on February 22, 1913, in which Ezra Meeker took part. Sacajawea Chaper, Daughters of the American Revolution, presented a bronze tablet on a granite boulder. It proclaims: "Marking the End of the Oregon Trail." The gift was accepted for the State by Governor Lister. The people of Olympia feel that their claim is secure. Editor E. E. Beard, of the *Olympia News*, declares that President Hoover has been invited to take part in the ceremonies at Olympia as the western terminus. The Olympia Chamber of Commerce is active along similar lines.

A Mason Document Recovered

The *Mason County Journal*, Shelton, for March 10, 1930, rejoices over the discovery in the State archives of a report by Charles H. Mason, Secretary and Acting Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory. It bears the date of May 2, 1854. Governor Isaac I. Stevens was absent from Olympia making treaties with the Indian tribes and Secretary Mason had to assume the added duties. The Governors of Territories were then required to send quarterly reports to the Federal Government.

Harry L. Tibbals, Pioneer

"Pioneers of the Peninsula" is the title of a series of articles running in the *Port Townsend Leader*. In the issue of March 24,

1930, Charles G. Campbell furnishes an extended biography of Harry L. Tibbals who was born in Port Townsend on March 8, 1859, and has lived there continuously excepting two years spent in Victoria. He is the son of Captain H. L. Tibbals who was of the California gold rush of 1849 and moved to Port Townsend in 1856. Harry Tibbals has served two terms as Mayor of his home town.

Honor for Eldridge Wheeler

Former students of the Montesano schools presented a like-like bust of their former teacher Eldridge Wheeler to the School Board. The ceremony took place on December 17, 1929. The bust was made by Victor Alonzo Lewis, sculptor, of Seattle. Mr. Wheeler is highly esteemed. He began teaching in Chehalis (now Grays Harbor) County in 1891. He is now Superintendent of Montesano's schools and has been for thirty-four years. He has also served as County Superintendent and for eight years was a Regent of the University of Washington. He is one of the few men who have received such a memorial tribute while still alive.

Frederic G. Young Honored

A fine memorial tribute to an excellent citizen and scholar is compiled in *The Commonwealth Review of the University of Oregon* for October, 1929. The publication was founded and edited by Professor Young whose colleagues have here assembled a biography, articles about his career as teacher, Dean of the Graduate School, work for the State and for the Oregon Historical Society. There is a bibliography of his many publications. A series of five studies by colleagues in the University of Oregon on topics of history, economics and sociology round out the important issue of a periodical dear to the heart of Professor Young.

Rocky Mountains and Railroads

The National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, at their Forty-first Annual Convention, Glacier Park, Montana, August 28, 1929, received an address on "Significance of the Rocky Mountains to Transcontinental Railways," by Ralph Budd, President of the Great Northern Railway Company. The address has now appeared in pamphlet form and like other utterances by Mr. Budd it is found to be filled with valuable thoughts and facts.

An American Intellectual Center

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, has issued in 1929 its first and second *Annual Report* for July 1, 1927 to June 30, 1928, and to July 30, 1929. They are brief and modest documents by Max Farrand, Director of Research, but they are sufficient to reveal some of the wealth of materials there assembled and some of the valuable studies being made by scholars from different parts of America and Europe. The last paragraph of the first *Report* is significant of enduring appreciation:

"By resolution, the trustees have formally designated February twenty-seventh, Mr. Huntington's birthday, as Founder's Day, to be observed annually with appropriate exercises."

Early Maps and Myths

Separates have been issued of the article, "Some Early Maps and Myths" by Charles H. Carey in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for March, 1929. Judge Carey has earned a fine reputation for research work in the history of the Northwest. This brief item is well worth saving.

Lewis and Clark Memorial

At Lewiston, Idaho, there is being organized the Lewis and Clark Memorial Association to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the arrival of that famous expedition. One part of the program is to launch efforts to secure a highway over the route traversed by the explorers. The temporary officers of the association were President, R. S. Erb; Vice President, Dr. E. G. Braddock; Treasurer, P. J. Miller; Secretary, Fred C. Erb.

Memorial for Chief Lawyer

At a public ceremony on June 3, 1930, the graduating class of Whitman College, Walla Walla, will present a memorial tablet on a huge granite boulder. The date is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the day when Chief Lawyer moved his Nez Perce camp alongside that of Governor Isaac I. Stevens and thus averted an intended attack by an unfriendly tribe. The signing of treaties followed. The site of the treaty ground is now part of the Whitman College campus. Effort is being made to place the monument on the exact spot of the historic event.

Pioneer Graves in the Forests

The Forest Service is doing a piece of extra work that will meet with general approval. Pioneer graves in the forests are being checked, located, and identified so far as possible. Fourteen of the National Forests in Oregon and Washington have reported graves definitely known and worthy of marking. Further details will develop as the work progresses.

Geographic Board Decisions

In this *Quarterly* for July, 1929, a report was published of Northwest decisions by the United States Geographic Board including those at the meeting of April 3, 1929. Since then at least five meetings have been held and items relating to the State of Washington were decided as follows:

A mountain in Okanogan County bearing the commonplace name of Goat Mountain was changed to McLeod Peak for an early pioneer Angus McLeod. It is in Chelan National Forest. It is 8,123 feet high. The change of name was recommended by the United States Forest Service.

The name of Skykomish River was made more definite by recognizing the North and South Forks which unite a few miles west of Index forming the Skykomish River which, in turn, unites with Snoqualmie River near Monroe forming the Snohomish River. The South Fork of the Skykomish River is recognized as being formed by the junction of Foss and Tye Rivers at the village of Tonga.

Tye River is recognized as rising in Stevens Pass, near the Cascade Tunnel and flowing southwest.

At the meeting on January 8, 1930, the Board changed a former decision by adding an "l" to the name of Stillaguamish River. The change was suggested by Lewis A. McArthur of Portland, Oregon, who had found the revised spelling in more common use. There have been many spellings in use and this decision should now be accepted as definite.

The reports here considered carry many items relating to Alaska, Oregon, California and Idaho, but the ones mentioned cover the recent decisions in the State of Washington.

Historical Tours

The Minnesota Historical Society gave its eighth State Historical Convention in the form of a series of tours from St. Paul to

Henderson, to Glencoe, to Hutchinson, to Forest City and to Litchfield with programs at each place. There was a large general committee and local committees served in each of the places visited. The plan seems well arranged for arousing a wider and more active interest in the work of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Wyoming Historian Honored

The Kiwanis Club of Casper, Wyoming, has adopted an interesting plan of honoring worthy people while they still live. The honor is symbolized by a bronze medal on which are placed the phrases: "He serves best who serves willingly" and "For Distinguished Service." The award is made each year by a jury of twelve leading citizens of Casper who are not members of the Kiwanis Club. Nominations are solicited from civic and service organizations throughout the State. The award is made at a banquet in Casper with appropriate ceremonies.

The medal of 1929 was awarded to Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor of Economics and Sociology in the University of Wyoming, in which institution she has served since 1891. Her vocation is teaching but her avocation is Wyoming history. Her tireless researches have produced an enviable list of publications, which have won recognition far beyond the limits of Wyoming.

In warmly commending the event, the *Republican-Boomerang* of Laramie says: "The honor which has come to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard through the instrumentality of the Kiwanis Club of Casper is indeed merited. It is pleasant, too, that such recognition should have taken place in her lifetime. In our hustle and bustle we Americans are too prone to let such matters go until death serves to emphasize extraordinary performance. Then, very often, and not until then, do we build our monuments."

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE COVERED WAGON CENTENNIAL: MARCH OF THE EMPIRE BUILDERS OVER THE OREGON TRAIL¹

Introduction

On February 21, 1930 President Hoover in accordance with a resolution adopted unanimously by Congress, issued a proclamation calling upon the American people to observe the period from April 10 to December 29, of the present year as the "covered wagon centennial." April the 10th was designated the hundredth anniversary of the departure of the first train, consisting of ten wagons and eighty-one persons, from St. Louis toward the Far West over the Oregon Trail. In a letter to Secretary of War Eaton, the leaders of this expedition pointed out the practicability of taking wagons overland to the Pacific Coast. In a sense this initial expedition blazed the way for the caravans that followed bringing the pioneers who have built the great commonwealths on the Pacific Coast.

I think it quite fitting that we students of history in the Northwest commemorate the hundredth anniversary of this occasion with a rehearsal today of this great and fascinating chapter in American history. Although to many of us this will be a familiar tale, I believe that there are few chapters in American history which are more romantic, more stirring, and more inspiring than the story of the march of the American pioneers over a two thousand mile trail—traversing prairie, desert, and mountains—to the land of the setting sun and the mighty Pacific. Some-day this westward march will be told in a great epic that will rival Homer's and Camoen's. Some-day the old Oregon Trail will become a national highway to recall the deeds that have written a significant chapter in our American history.

Before I undertake to describe the covered-wagon procession, I must attempt to answer the pertinent question: what lured the pioneers to the Pacific Coast; what were the impulses that stirred thousands of families and drove them over unexplored regions, over desert and snow-covered mountains; exposing themselves to flood

¹ The paper was read at the Social Science Group of the Inland Empire Educational Association at Spokane, April 10, 1930.

and storm, thirst and starvation, to savage and beast. Our answer is threefold: the spirit of the westward movement, the discontent with conditions in the middle west, and the allurements of the Pacific Coast.

The Westward Movement in American History

The march of the pioneers to the Pacific was only a phase of the general American westward movement. In a sense the westward march of civilization has been going on for thousands of years. Europe was settled by peoples who migrated from Asia. Since the sixteenth century trade has been shifting westward: first from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and today from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The American westward expansion began when the Europeans left their homes to settle in the western hemisphere. Since that time the movement has been continuing. We can trace it in successive wave lines: in the seventeenth century the frontier reached the Fall Line, by the end of the eighteenth century it crossed the Alleghanies into Kentucky and Tennessee, by 1820 it reached the Mississippi River, and by 1840 it reached the bend of the Missouri.²

The forces which impelled this movement were many. Individually it was the restlessness of the frontiersmen who were always hearing the call of the open spaces, and who believed that opportunity existed a little further on. Collectively, it can be attributed to the manifest destiny spirit, especially since 1815; the growing enthusiasm for expansion, the belief in the moral right of the United States to spread its institutions of liberty from ocean to ocean. The entire nation was imbued with this missionary spirit and obstacles like forests, deserts, savages and beasts may have retarded it but could not stifle it. As early as 1815 the great American expansionist, Thomas Jefferson predicted that the time would come when the American people would control the Pacific Coast.³ That prediction was made when the frontier settlements were yet straggling along the Ohio, when Oregon was yet an everyman's land, and when California was still under the rule of Spain. The expansion of the United States was bound to continue at least until it reached the Pacific Ocean. The usual course of the evolution of the frontier was altered when it reached the Missouri bend and instead of first taking up the plains, the frontiersmen leaped over to the Pacific Coast, because they feared the Indian opposition, and believed in the

² F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, chapter 1.

³ Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, Library edition, XIII, p. 157.

general tradition that the region was a great desert, unfit for white settlements.⁴

Discontent in the Middle West in the Forties and Fifties

The second explanation for the migration to Oregon in the forties and fifties was the agrarian discontent in the Middle West. Due to the panic of 1837 and to the inadequate means of transportation, western settlers found conditions very discouraging. When crops were plentiful settlers could not dispose of the surplus for want of adequate means of transportation to eastern markets.⁵ Jesse Applegate of St. Clair county, Missouri, sold a steam boat of bacon and lard for \$100. It was told that bacon was used for fuel on the Mississippi boats.⁶ In 1842 wheat sold for twenty-five cents a bushel.⁷ Farming was indeed an unprofitable business in the Middle West in the forties. Then in the forties came disastrous floods.⁸ To these misfortunes were added the usual sickness, chiefly malaria, known as chills or ague.⁹ At times various epidemics would sweep over the entire middle western section. All these misfortunes forced the westerners to ask themselves whether they should stick it out or try their luck on the Pacific Coast where life was pleasanter and the returns greater.

Allurements of the Pacific Coast

What America spelled to the Europeans, the Pacific Coast held in promise to the easterners and middlewesterners. It loomed as a land of promise, a land of fortune. This section has been associated in our minds with romance, with misty glamour, with sublime scenery, and unlimited possibilities—a veritable El Dorado.

The Pacific Coast, especially the Northwest, called the Oregon Country, played a major role in world politics. It was the "swirl of the nations," a bone of international contention among five leading world powers: Spain, Russia, Great Britain, the United States, and France.

The Spaniards, pioneers of pioneers, were the first on the ground with their approach from the south by water.¹⁰ The Russians on their path of empire swept down the coast from the north;¹¹ Great

4 F. L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*, pp. 11-12.

5 J. C. Bell, *Opening a Highway to the Pacific*, p. 127.

6 H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. 1, p. 391, note 1.

7 J. C. Bell, *Opening a Highway to the Pacific*, p. 124.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

9 *Ibid.*, *Oregon Pioneers Association Transactions*, 1893, p. 215.

10 Voyages of Cabrillo, Ferrelo, 1542-1543, Juan Perez, 1774 and others.

11 Beginning with Vitus Bering in 1728. For Russian explorations see Golder,

F. A., *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*.

Britain and the United States made their way to the Coast by water and overland.¹² France went no farther than to cast longing glances at this garden of Eden.¹³

A clash was inevitable. Spain, the first to come, was strangely the first to retreat from the Pacific northwest and later from the entire coast.¹⁴ Russia, who by 1821, had experienced a strong spell of expansionism met the resistance of Great Britain and the United States and by 1825 she too withdrew.¹⁵ This happy-hunting ground was left then as a prize of combat to Great Britain and her lusty daughter, the United States.

For more than a quarter of a century—from 1818-1846—the Oregon country was debatable ground taxing the diplomacy of the two nations. We must bear in mind that Oregon then included the entire Pacific northwest, an imperial domain, a mighty sweep of territory from California to Alaska, and from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Not being able to reach some mode of agreement, Great Britain and the United States decided to postpone the settlement of this question, each hoping that with time its cause would gain strength.

This decision may also have been prompted by the fact that during the first half of the nineteenth century England's passion for colonies lay dormant,¹⁶ while in the United States there was yet no great enthusiasm for Oregon. Few in the States knew and cared about that distant and mysterious region on the Pacific Coast. Many in and out of Congress stated that Oregon was too removed from the Union to even hope to become a member of it. "The God of nations," said one, "had interposed obstacles of this connection [of the Atlantic and the Pacific coast] which neither the enterprise nor the science of this or any other age can overcome."¹⁷

It had been estimated that it would take a congressman more than a year to make the round trip to Washington, at a cost to the government of about \$3,720.¹⁸ Many argued that a people of a region so distant would retain no feeling of patriotism toward the United States. Others believed that Oregon was not worth possessing—a country of incessant rain in some part and Sahara-like

¹² Such as Francis Drake, James Cook, George Vancouver, Alexander Mackenzie for England. Robert Gray, Lewis and Clark and the Astorians for the United States.

¹³ The famous La Perouse expedition in 1786, sent by the government.

¹⁴ The Nootka Sound controversy in 1790 marks the beginning of Spain's retreat. L. B. Shippee, *The Federal Relations of Oregon* (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. XIX, no. 3, pp. 189-201).

¹⁶ H. Robinson, *Development of the British Empire*, p. 296.

¹⁷ S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History*, vol. II, pp. 612-14, Senator McDuffie said that he "would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole country." See C. Goodwin, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, p. 308.

¹⁸ J. B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, vol. V, p. 124.

droughts in other portions. Some said that the very word Oregon meant something dry, and barren. Mitchell of Tennessee stated in Congress that he could not understand how any one would want to "seek the inhospitable region of Oregon, unless he wishes to be a savage;" that it would never be inhabited to a great extent—"not even within the reach of fancy itself" would Oregon become a territory. One suggested that Oregon be made a penal colony.¹⁹ Not a few in the East and South were frankly opposed to draining off the population needed in the older states and territories.

Oregon Champions

Happily, there were some minds less pessimistic about the possibility of the country on the Pacific. Oregon had its champions in the East and in the West, in and out of Congress. The two outstanding Oregon sponsors in the twenties and early thirties were Congressman Floyd of Virginia and Hall J. Kelley, a Boston school-teacher. Although they were in advance of their day, their persistent and widespread agitation in the form of speeches, circulars, bills and the founding of emigration societies helped to arouse some interest in that distant land.²⁰

Tales of trappers and traders returning from their far western journeys, and letters written by the missionaries in Oregon were printed in many widely-read journals and were discussed in frontier communities.²¹ Irving's "Astoria" and "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville" which told of the romance of the Far West and the Pacific Coast were most popular in the United States in the thirties and forties.

Aroused by the popular demand for literature dealing with the Pacific Coast, the United States government commissioned several naval and an army officer to investigate and report on that region. The results were Slacum's report in 1837, Wilke's in 1841, and Fremont's account of his survey of the overland trails in 1842. These reports were published and spread broadcast by thousands of copies.²² All the stories, letters, and reports told of the natural beauties, of the healthful climate, and of the great economic possibilities of the coast region. Such reports which pictured Oregon as a kind of dream-land, a garden of Eden served to turn the public mind

19 Shippee *Opus cit.*, vol. XIX, no. 2, p. 132.

20 An account of Kelley's and Floyd's activities is found in L. B. Shippee's *Federal Relations of Oregon* (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. XIX, no. 2, pp. 111-132).

21 J. C. Bell, *Opening of a Highway to the Pacific*, chapters III, IV.

22 J. Schaefer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, pp. 160-163. See Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842*.

more and more toward the Pacific Coast. They generated an Oregon Fever. "Oregon itself caught our attention" wrote the eloquent editor of the *Oregonian*, the organ of the Provisional Emigration Society of 1839: "Oregon, the future home of the power which shall rule the Pacific; Oregon, the theatre on which mankind are to act a part not yet performed in the drama of life and government; Oregon, whose far-spreading seas and mighty rivers are to teem with the commerce of an empire, and whose boundless prairies and verdant vales are to feel the footsteps of civilized millions. Oregon was before us in its future glory, and we grasped the prospect of its coming as the impulse of our scheme. We needed no speeches, no reports, to awaken us. Oregon invited us."²³

These stories, reports, and editorials fell upon fertile grounds and receptive minds. The American people of the forties, especially of the Middle West, were frontiersmen by heredity and environment. Their fathers had moved from frontier to frontier. Since childhood they had listened to and read the daring adventures, true and false, of the frontiersmen. Pioneering and frontiering had become a religion with them. They felt cramped when the country around them began to fill up. When stories of a new country reached them they would become restless with an irresistible desire to move on. An excellent characterization of the situation is the following description by a contemporary:

"Fearlessness, hospitality, and independent frankness, united with restless enterprise and unquenchable thirst for novelty and change, are the peculiar characteristics of the western pioneers. With him there is always a land of promise further west, where the climate is milder, the soil more fertile, better timber and finer prairies; and on, on, on he goes, always seeking and never attaining the Pisgah of his hopes. You of the old states cannot readily conceive the everyday sort of business the "old settler" makes of selling out his "improvements," hitching the horses to the big wagon, and, with his wife and children, swine and cattle, pots and kettles, household goods and household gods, starting on a journey of hundreds of miles to find and make a new home.

"Just now Oregon is the pioneer's land of promise. Hundreds are already prepared to start thither with the spring, while hundreds of others are anxiously awaiting the action of congress in reference to that country, as the signal for their departure. Some have already been to view the country, and have returned with a flattering tale of

²³ Quoted in J. C. Bell, *Opening of a Highway to the Pacific*, p. 99.

the inducements it holds out. They have painted it to their neighbors in the brightest colors; these have told it to others; the Oregon fever has broke out, and is now raging like any other contagion."²⁴

By 1840 Oregon was certainly in the air. There were some ten emigration societies in the United States. The members of these associations believed that the occupation of the Oregon country would not only be a boon to the individual settlers, but would perform at the same time a service to the nation by holding the land against Great Britain. Meetings were held in many western and eastern communities to discuss the question of emigration to adopt resolutions and to appeal to Congress for inducements in form of land grants.²⁵

At some of these meetings addresses were made, to create enthusiasm, by men who had been to the Pacific Coast. In these addresses and speeches the coast was pictured in most glowing colors. In Weston, Missouri, Roubidoux, a returned fur trader, thrilled his audience by telling them of the beauties and pleasantness of the Coast. He told that malaria fever known as "the shakes" was so rare that the entire country near Monterey turned out to see the amazing spectacle of a person, a native of Missouri who was shaking with the fever.²⁶ Nearly every one in Weston agreed to emigrate to the Pacific Coast, that blessed land. The merchants in town, threatened with a wholesale exodus, spread counteracting reports to discourage this movement.²⁷

By 1840 the American people were becoming Oregon-minded. Thousands of aggressive settlers with "westward ho" as their motto were beginning to move toward that land of fortune where there are no cyclones, no "shakes," where nature is kind and the economic conditions most promising. They meant to hold this land for themselves and for their nation. The thrilling ride of Whitman did not save Oregon because Oregon was in no danger of being lost.

In Congress friends of Oregon like Linn, Benton, and by this time Cushing were working perseveringly for the occupation of that country. Other politicians ever keeping their ears to the ground, grasped the situation, and by 1844 the Oregon question became one of the most important planks of the Democratic platform as expressed in the alliterative phrase "fifty-four forty or fight"—(even

²⁴ Letter from Iowa Territory, dated March 4, 1843, printed in the *National Intelligencer*, April 18, 1843. Also found in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 311-312.

²⁵ J. C. Bell, *Opening of a Highway to the Pacific*, pp. 101-112.

²⁶ J. Bidwell, *California, 1841-1848*, pp. 5-10. Ms. in Bancroft Library, University of California.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

though the Oregon part of the platform may have been a mere tail to the Texas kite.)²⁸

Great Britain, proud and aggressive, resented the speeches and bills of Linn and his colleagues in Congress. "A grotesque proposal," "a mere discharge of blank cartridges to intimidate Lord Aberdeen to bully England" exclaimed the London Times "an act of insolence" said another.²⁹ But by 1846 even the proud Great Britain accepted the 49th degree line previously offered by the United States.

Having sketched the conditions and motives that were responsible for the migration to the Pacific Coast, let us now briefly describe the march of the pioneers over the Oregon Trail, which was probably the longest trail in the world. The Siberian road may equal it in length but not in its difficulties. The pioneers of the eighteenth century had to cross only the lowly Appalachians and the entire trail into Kentucky and Tennessee was not more than some 400 miles. The Oregon Trail was opened not by government engineers, nor by emigrant settlers, but by wild animals, Indians, white trappers, and traders. These pioneer trail-makers crossed the plains, deserts, and mountains by the routes that offered the fewest impediments and the greatest inducements to travel.³⁰ By 1842 the many trails across the plains, deserts, and mountains were well connected and formed the national highway known as the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Trail, the California Trail, and the Overland Trail. The Indians called it the "Great Medicine Road of the Whites" or the "White-topped wagon road."

With every recurring spring, either spontaneously or as the result of the arrangements of the committees of correspondence, hosts of settlers from Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and other frontier communities began to pour into the outfitting towns, sometimes called jumping off places, like Independence, Westport and Council Bluffs. They came in their white covered-wagons, by steam boats, and later by train.³¹ They came in single families and entire neighborhoods. The outfitting places were at this time all in a bustle with

28 Cass said: "Our claim to the country west of the Rocky Mountains is as undeniable as our right to Bunker Hill or New Orleans" (*Niles' Register*, July 29, 1843). On the other hand John Quincy Adams said of the campaign of 1844 that it was "a mock enthusiasm for the territory of Oregon and a hurricane of passion for Texas, blown to fury by congressional and Texan bond and land holders." *Niles' Register*, November 23, 1844.

29 Quoted in *Niles' Register*, April 22, 1843; Shippee, *Federal Relations of Oregon*, in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. XIX, no. 4, p. 302.

30 H. M. Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 1, (New York, 1902).

31 Peter Burnett, *Letters*, (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. III, p. 405); F. G. Young, *The Oregon Trail*, (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 359-360).

hotels crowded and camping places filled to capacity. Here the emigrants would provide themselves with food to last them five to six months, with firearms, wagons, horses, mules or oxen. There was a difference of opinion concerning the relative merits of mules and oxen for drawing the covered wagons. Mules were more expensive, six of them costing about \$600, while eight oxen could be purchased for \$200. For short distances and on good roads with sufficient food, mules were preferred, as they travelled faster and could endure the heat better. But for journeys of great distance over rough and muddy roads oxen proved to be more desirable. Oxen would not stampede easily and could stand the strain better. While horses could be driven about 20-24 miles a day with safety, oxen averaged only about sixteen miles daily.³²

At the outfitting stations, the emigrants organized themselves into companies. Many trains took special precautions to attach to their group only individuals of proper character and adequate means of food and transportation. Organization was considered necessary for protection as the train had to pass the territory of the Pawnees, Cheyennes, and Sioux. Organization was also necessary in order to procure guides. These guides were usually experienced trappers who would travel ahead of the company to select camping places. While banding together was desirable and more safe, there were, however, many objections to groups of too large size, for adequate grazing facilities for large bands were difficult to procure. In the events of accidents a large number were naturally delayed. Frequently dissensions arose. The emigrant not encumbered with cattle wanted to travel faster than could the one who was burdened with live-stock. As a result, large companies frequently broke up into smaller groups, especially when the South Pass was reached and the danger from Indians was past.³³

The emigrant train usually opened its journey at the end of May or by the first part of June. Few hours of travel brought it through western Missouri to the entrance of the Indian country. For about two days the train traveled over the excellent Santa Fe Trail where it met on the way many wagons laden with the manufactured goods from the United States headed for the Mexican pro-

32 *Ibid.*, 418-19. Mules in 1487 were from \$40 to \$50 each, while oxen were \$30-\$40 a yoke. Wagons were from \$80-\$90 each. See *Letters and Circulars of Information for Prospective Emigrants to California and Oregon*, (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. XI, pp. 307-312).

33 Peter Burnett, *Letters*, (in *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1902-3, vol. III, gives rules and regulations for the emigration of 1843. See also Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-363.

vinces.³⁴ About forty miles from Independence, at the present site of Gardner, Kansas, the train reached the spot where the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails met. A simple sign board bore the legend, "Road to Oregon," and to China and to Japan may be added.

Turning northwestward over the Oregon Trail, the wagon procession continued paralleling the Kansas River, fording it at Topeka or Unitown. Here the emigrants would stop for a brief time to settle various difficulties that may have arisen en route. For according to the "unwritten law of the plains" all grievances had to be settled by a jury.³⁵

Upon entering the Valley of the Little Blue, the train encountered the Pawnees who frequently exacted tolls from the immigrants. Three hundred and sixteen miles from Independence the emigrants reached the Platte River.³⁶ Irving called it "the most magnificent and most useless of rivers." Its waters are muddy and abound in quicksands. Across the river ran the route that was later called the Mormon Trail. On the south side of the Platte the government established in 1848 Fort Kearney, which was the first important military post on the Trail. From this point travel was resumed in the valley of the Platte.

The journey over the prairies, especially during the first few days in a season free from storms and epidemics, was not unpleasant. The long single or several trains of white covered wagons called "prairie schooners" rolling over the green undulating prairie made a pretty picture. At a distance it resembled a long line of sail boats gliding over the green ocean. At the head of the caravan rode the best marksmen who could pick up fresh game. Along the sides of the wagons walked or rode the men swinging their ox-hide goads. Within the wagons traveled the women and children surrounded by their house-hold equipment. The air was exhilarating, the road good, the panorama not yet monotonous. Everyone emanated a feeling of freedom. Indeed it seemed like a grand excursion.³⁷

With the setting sun, the train halted and formed a coral of its wagons which was to serve as an impregnable arrangement

³⁴ Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains, An Account of the Migration of 1843*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1906-1907, vols. 7-8, p. 65).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Burnett, *Letters*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1902-3, vol. III, p. 43).

³⁷ Interesting descriptions of the march of the pioneers are found in F. G. Young, *Oregon Trail*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1900, vol. I, pp. 339-370; Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1906-1907, vols. 7-8, pp. 62-104, 163-210, 291-327; James Nesmith, *Diary of the Emigration of 1843*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1906, vol. III, pp. 329-359); Jesse Applegate, *A Day with the Cow Column in 1843*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1900, vol. I, pp. 372-383); Amos William Hartman, *The California and Oregon Trail, 1849-1860*, (*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 1924, vol XXV, pp. 1-35); W. J. Ghent, *The Road to Oregon*, 1929.

against attacks from the Indians. On the outer side of the camp glimmered the fires for the preparation of supper. After the evening meal an hour or two were devoted to merriment—especially by the younger element who indulged in song and dance. The fiddle and the flute were the orchestra. Early to bed was not a mere resolution with the emigrants. Sleep came easily for the hardy travelers and night found the wagons furnishing a bed for women and children, while the men found a resting place near or under the wagons with only a blanket or wagon cover as protection against the elements. During the quiet of the night our frontiersmen could gaze into the starry sky. He could hear the howling of the wolves. At times a feeling of loneliness, of homesickness may have crept over him, but this was soon replaced by the thought of the promised land, of the ease and plenty to come. Hopes were sky high, for the majority of the emigrants were under forty-five years of age.

Upon reaching the plains, the emigrants found the timber thinner and the grass short and curly, well adapted to the herds of buffalo that roamed here. About 571 miles from the beginning of the journey the train entered a country of strange conformation of landscape: Chimney Rock, Court House Rock.

At the confluence of the Platte and the Laramie—about 667³⁸ miles from Independence, the trail left the plains. At this point the travelers stopped to overhaul and rearrange their cargo and to rest from the strain of the journey.

If they could continue without hindrances—storms, floods or bad roads,—forty days of travel brought our pioneers to Fort Laramie. The Fort was built in 1834 by trappers and later purchased by the government.³⁹ It was used as a military post from 1849-1890 during which time it saw many stirring events. Here the Mormon Trail united with the Oregon. From here the Montana or Bozeman trail branched off. Fort Laramie afforded the travelers a necessary rest stop.

Upon leaving Laramie the train continued up the Platte valley. It now reached Big Springs—a warm spring 689 miles from Independence. Although the scenery was superb and the sky clear, travelling was made more difficult by rough ground. Eighty-nine miles, beyond this place was Deer Creek, a favorite stopping point. At 19 miles west, the train reached Independence Rock, a famous landmark on the trail—a solitary pile of granite. Father de Smet

³⁸ The table of distances given here follows the one given by H. M. Chittenden in his *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. I.

³⁹ Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

aptly called it the "Great Register of the Desert," for on it the emigrants inscribed the names of those who had succumbed en route. Later it became a custom for travelers to add their names as they passed, so that the following train could read of those who had preceded them.⁴⁰

Travelling 5 miles farther, the emigrant reached Devil's Gate, a granite ridge through whose rift flows the Sweet-Water and from whose top one could see a most magnificent view. From Devil's Gate the train passed along the Sweet-Water, crossed the river, and continued over a dusty alkaline road.

After covering 947 miles of the steady journey, the procession reached South Pass, one of the most celebrated passes in the entire length of the Great Divide; a broad plateau about 7500 feet above sea level. Here hail Oregon! For here our emigrants reached the place commonly considered the entrance to the Oregon country, and about equal distance to Vancouver and to Independence. Five miles beyond, and the travelers arrived at Pacific Springs, the first water of the Pacific. The route here was disagreeable due to its barren, sandy wastes.

Fort Bridger, 1070 miles from the starting point was the second important stopping place on the Trail. The Fort was built in a beautiful spot by James Bridger in 1843 to supply emigrants with necessities, and it became a regular Oasis in the desert. Here travelers arranged their wagons and made necessary repairs. Until 1848 it was in Mexican Territory, but no one paid attention to this fact. The fort was at the cross-roads—the trails parted here: one leading to California, the other to Oregon.

By the middle of August the train reached Fort Hall, 1288 miles from Independence, an important station on the left bank of the Snake River. At this terminal which belonged to the Hudson Bay Company at first, the travelers made preparations for the last lap of the journey to the Columbia River. Companies broke up into smaller groups. Many left their wagons in exchange for pack mules. The Trail ran west along the south side of the Snake to American Falls and on to the mouth of the Raft River where in 1846 a California trail branched off south westward to the headwaters of the Humboldt. 1537 miles from Independence, the trail reached the Boise River where the town by that name now stands. 1736 miles from the outset of the journey the slowly moving procession came to the Grande Ronde valley, an ideal pasture and camping ground.

40 *Ibid.*, James W. Nesmith, *Diary*, p. 344.

From here the trail led through the Blue Mountains whose ruggedness offered many difficulties to the already exhausted travelers. At the 1791 mile point they reached the first significant place west of the Blue Mountains—the Umatilla River where Pendleton now stands. Another route from the Grand Ronde valley ran in a northerly direction and reached the Columbia at the mouth of the Walla Walla.

From Umatilla, it ran down the south bank of the Columbia to The Dalles 1934 miles from Independence and from The Dalles to the Cascades and then on to Fort Vancouver 2020 miles from the starting point—to the end of the Trail.

Hardships on the Trail

However novel and exhilarating the journey may have been at the outset, it soon presented numerous hardships. However buoyant and hopeful our pioneers began on their westward march, some eventually grew exhausted and despondent. The painfully slow means of progress made even the most inspiring scenery monotonous. Inclement weather with thunder-storms that resembled the discharge of artillery and rains that soaked the weary marchers through and through added much to their discomfort. Swollen streams and boggy roads, torturing mosquitoes and annoying flies provided further obstacles. These were followed by spells of terrific heat and enveloping dust. Man and beast felt the merciless strain of the desert. Horses and oxen, trudging with their heavy burdens and exhausted from incessant labor without relief from the heat and without sufficient food frequently dropped in their tracks. Their masters with eyes and lips swollen by the burning sun, with bodies strained to the very limit of exhaustion and despondency fared no better than did the beasts. Animal carcasses filled the worn trail, and human bodies were lain in graves too shallow for protection from prowling wolves and savages. Normal conditions of travel took its toll in great enough numbers, but in years of misfortune as in 1849-1850 when cholera followed the weary emigrants from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains unbelievable terror and tragedy spread among them. Wagons and household goods were left by the road-side. Graves dotted the trail. About 2,000 persons succumbed in the year 1849, while 5,000 lost their lives in 1850.

But time could not be lost—they had to hurry on—they had a goal to reach. Should they tarry, the winter storms may catch them in the mountains. After suffering the cruelties of the desert, they had one more feat to perform. They must scale the mountains. The

towering walls before them urged them to the use of their last ounce of physical resources. Those who had conquered thus far were not to be baffled. They went "over the top" and for their sturdy enterprise and long suffering were rewarded with a goal of fertile fields, clement climate, and sublime scenery.⁴¹

Song of the Pioneers

"Through the land of the savage foes
 See the long procession goes
 Till it camps by the Columbia of the West;
 Where the mountains block the stream,
 And the cascades flash and gleam,
 And the sun sinks to his distant ocean rest.
 Tramp, tramp, tramp, the trains keep marching;
 At length the deadly plains are passed;
 But there is still the deadly river trail
 And the cascade range to scale;—
 Then the fair Willamette homes are reached at last."

Extent of Migration—40's and 50's

The estimate number of emigrants that came to Oregon during the forties and fifties is as follows:

1842 about 112 to 137.	1848 about 700
1843 about 875 to 1000	1849 about 400
1844 about 700	1850 about 2,000
1845 about 3,000	1851 about 1,500
1846 about 1,350	1852 about 2,500 ⁴²
1847 about 4,000 to 5,000.	

Up to 1849 emigration took place mainly to Oregon and was composed chiefly of settlers who came with their families to found homes. With 1849 began the rush to the gold fields of California; an emigration of adventurers and fortune seekers. The number of emigrants to Oregon now dwindled, while that to California increased many fold.

The number passing the Oregon Trail during this period was amazing. In April 1849, 20,000 were camped along the Missouri. By May 18, it was estimated that some 2,850 wagons had gathered along the Missouri. The emigration of 1850 was still larger. By July 8, there were registered at Fort Laramie 37,570 men and 845 women, 1126 children, 9,101 wagons, 31,502 oxen, 22,873 horses,

⁴¹ For details of the journeys across the country see books and articles mentioned in note 37.

⁴² F. G. Young, *Op. cit.*

7,650 mules, and 5,754 cows; while some 2,470 emigrants hurried by without registering. One witness reported that on June 21 at the upper crossing of the Platte could be seen a "continuous unbroken procession" on the main highway. About 23,000 passed Fort Kearney in 1852. The total for that year was estimated about 50,000.⁴³

During 1860-1870 thousands of settlers moved overland to the Far West. In 1864 the plains were said to be covered with wagons. The Trail was a veritable highway with numerous parallel routes and short cuts. The coming of the iron horse naturally displaced the usefulness of the Trail. But traveling on the pioneer's highway was still continued even after 1870 by those unable to pay the cost of railway transportation. By that time, however, the country had become more or less settled and the emigrant met with fewer difficulties than did his predecessors. The day of isolation and the frontier had passed.

About three quarters of a century have passed since the days of the march of the empire builders over the Oregon Trail. Since that time that great national highway has undergone many transformations. The portion of the Trail from the start to Grand Island on the Platte has been surveyed, plowed up, cultivated and settled. The precise location of the Trail at this point is not easy to identify. But that part of the highway running from Grand Island westward and lying in less populated districts and river valleys is still known and in places visible; especially the grooves worn by the wheels of the covered wagon. Today the traveler may rush through this region in the comfortable Pullman or his soft cushioned automobile entirely unmindful of the trudging procession of the forties and fifties who have opened this country for him.

During the last century there have grown up on the Pacific Coast several prosperous and flourishing commonwealths. Their problems and interests have attracted a great deal of attention from the national government. To some extent they have served as a laboratory for social legislation, which is another way of saying that they are yet pioneering and frontier communities.

What the future holds in store for these commonwealths is easily imaginable when we bear in mind the natural wealth of this region: its timber, fisheries, minerals, oil fertile soil suitable for stock and poultry, potential water power, healthful climate, and splendid scenery. Because of the location of this section facing the Pacific

⁴³ Härtman, *Op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; McMaster, *Op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 58.

and the awakening of the Orient, it is destined to become the greatest highway for world commerce. The Pacific Coast will inevitably become the front door of the United States through which will flow trade and wealth, and with prosperity will come civilization, culture, and all the finer things of life.

But to fully appreciate the present and the future of this region, one must have a fair understanding of the stages through which it passed; of its early growth and development. Here history serves its purpose. Some of the fifty-seven varieties of objectives of history may or may not be true, but one fact remains. History is the only study that can give us a comprehensive understanding of the rise and development of civilizations; whether it be the history of the entire race, of a nation, or merely of a section of a country. It unfolds to us a wonderful panorama of life: of man's ambitions, aspirations, struggles, failures and successes. The study of history of the Pacific Coast, especially of the Northwestern states which are closely related in many respects, affords us a full appreciation of the past and the present of this region. We feel that we can almost live again that inspiring chapter, we can almost hear the echoes of the pioneer days in the trails of the mountains, along the rushing streams, and in the depths of the forests, for it has been aptly said: "No man is fit to be entrusted with the control of the *Present*, who is ignorant of the *Past*, and no *People*, who are indifferent to their *Past*, need hope to make their future great."

JOSEPH ELLISON.

THE ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE THE BRIG OTTER

In the story of the Northwest Coast there are records of many attacks by the natives upon the trading vessels. Some of these were, unfortunately, successful; but, usually, the trader was able to beat off his assailants. Amongst these incidents the capture and looting in 1803 at Nootka Sound of the Boston Ship, *Boston*, and in 1811 at Clayoquot Sound of the New York ship, *Tonquin*, and the unsuccessful attack in 1805 at Milbanke Sound on the American ship, *Atahualpa*, are well known; the details can be found in almost any history of the coast.

In 1811 at Chilkat Inlet, Lynn Canal, Alaska, an attack which fortunately failed was made on the Boston brig *Otter*. The only reference to it, so far as I know, to be found in any of our histories is contained in Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast*, vol. I, p.326: "The Otter is said to have been attacked by the natives of Nootka, several of the crew being killed." This sparse and incorrect information was taken from the MS. *Memoranda* of Henry Peirce, whose brother Joseph was, as will appear later, wounded in the affray.

On the return of the *Otter* to Boston in July 1812 her master, Samuel Hill, wrote and published in the *Columbian Centinel* an account of the tragic occurrence. It is reproduced later in this article and is offered as a contribution to the detailed history of our coast and of its maritime traders.

In his MS. *Autobiography* Captain Samuel Hill says:

"In the beginning of 1809 I was appointed to the command of the Brig. *Otter*, owned by Messrs T. C. Amory & Co. and Oliver Keating Esqr. of Boston, destined for the Coast of North West America to collect furs. I sailed on the 1st of April 1809 from Boston and having touched at the Sandwich Islands, arrived on the N.W. Coast on the 1st Novr. following in safety."

Though he does not mention the fact, the *Otter* at the Hawaiian Islands fell in with the ship *Hamilton*, of Boston, and together they sailed thence to the coast. In her log, which is still preserved, there are many references to the *Otter*.

It is interesting to pause here and recall the fact that the *Boston* which had been captured and whose crew had been massacred belonged to the Messrs. Amory and that the two survivors, Jewitt and Thompson, had been rescued in July 1805 by the *Lydia*, under Captain Samuel Hill on his preceding voyage. I have already given in

this *Quarterly*¹ his account of the rescue as published on his return. Now we find him on his next voyage to the coast attacked by the Indians, but the victor in the struggle.

The old ideas of trading during the season and then of wintering amongst the Hawaiian Islands had broken down under the stress of competition and decreasing numbers of furs and as a result of the clearer knowledge of coastal climatic conditions. The maritime traders now usually remained on the coast from the time of their arrival until their cargo was completed. The whole intervening period they spent in visiting and revisiting the Indian villages in search of trade; and if they sailed to "the islands" it was, not to live a lotus-eating life, but to obtain some needed supplies or refreshment, and return with the least delay to the scene of their labours.

In 1811 some fifteen vessels were in the sea-otter trade. There are in existence the complete logs of two of them—the *Hamilton* and the *New Hazard*.² In their pages the brig *Otter* is frequently mentioned, and therefrom the outlines of her story could be obtained. But as this paper is primarily for the purpose of reproducing in its setting the newspaper item telling of the attack on her, it will suffice to say that the *Otter* spent from November 1, 1809 till September 16, 1811 in the sea-otter trade, flitting from place to place, from village to village, on the shores of Queen Charlotte Islands, of the opposite mainland of British Columbia, and of southern Alaska.

In the autumn of 1810 the *Otter* visited Lynn Canal and traded without incident with the treacherous Tlingit. Returning southward she in company with the ship *Hamilton* and the brig *Lydia* spent the winter of 1810-11 amongst the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian villages in southern Alaska and northern British Columbia.

About the middle of March, 1811, the *Otter* sailed to the northward again, trading as she went, and on 11th April anchored near the entrance of Chilkat Inlet, Lynn Canal. While she was there occurred the attempt to capture her which is described in the accompanying account. It has the appearance of an unprovoked attack; but, unfortunately, we have not the Indians' side of the trouble. We do not know what may have occurred on the first visit of the *Otter* to this locality, nor even what misconduct some other vessel may have committed in the interval, which to the Indian with his views of vicarious responsibility may have justified the attack. Moreover, no one can read the story without feeling that there must

1 See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Volume 17, Pp. 280-288, October, 1926.

2 These manuscript logs are in the Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

have been some jealousy or enmity between Captain Hill and his first officer, Mr. Hughes. One readily obtains from it the impression that in the captain's mind was the conviction that the officer was desirous that such an attack be made—to the extent, at any rate, of an assault upon him. None of the materials presently available throw any light upon the internal situation on the *Otter*. In Captain Hill's MS. *Autobiography*³ the incident is mentioned but without any reference to ill-feeling. Perhaps the captain's conversion may have influenced his pen. He says:

"Previous to my leaving the N.W. Coast, on the 12th of April 1811, the Indians, natives of Lynn Canal in Latitude 59° North Attacked me with their daggers in the most treacherous & unexpected manner. Treacherous, because I had at all times treated them with Kindness, & unexpected because I knew of no affront or cause of enmity between them & myself or my Ship's Crew. About 50 men of them were on deck for the purpose of Trade & with daggers concealed under their Garments they Commenced the attack by Seizing hold of me on the quarter-deck. My Second Officer & Boatswain were killed, & Six of my men dangerously wounded. Of the Natives I believe all that were on deck at the Commencement of the Affair except one were killed.

"At the Commencement of thir Affair to all human Appearance my Death was inevitable. Seized & held fast by two Stout men, & Surrounded by 48 or 50 more with drawn daggers, on the quarter deck; & the transition from this Situation, to that in which the charge was ordered, which terminated in their entire destruction, is extremely difficult to describe; through the whole of that transaction with the Circumstances which preceded & followed it the directing & preserving hand of the Almighty is apparent. May I render Unceasing Praise and Grateful thanks, to his long suffering Mercy & Grace to an Undeserving & Rebellious wretch like me, in thus permitting me to live and be made Sensible of the extreme danger of my Situation."

On the return of the *Otter* to the vicinity of Queen Charlotte Islands she met the ship *Hamilton* and the brig *New Hazard*, each of which in her log makes short reference to the sad event. The *New Hazard* met the *Otter* near Kaigahnee, Dall Island, Alaska, May 10, 1811 and the entry in her log runs:

"We learnt from them they had had a skirmish with the Indians up Chatham Strait at a place called Chilcaht in which they lost their

³ Captain Samuel Hill's *Autobiography* is a manuscript in the Public Library, New York.

second mate and boatswain and six wounded, but none I believe dangerous. They killed 40 Indians, 13 of whom were Chiefs. The Indians followed them to the distance of 50 miles."

A few days later the *Hamilton* met the *Otter* near Taddis Cove,⁴ in Kaigahnee Harbour and records under date, May 24, 1811, the following short note upon the attack:

"The former (i.e. the *Otter*) had been attacked up Chilcart by the Nativee and unfortunately lost his second officer and boatswain but he killed 40 of the Natives and 13 of whom were Chiefs."

The captain's belief that the attack had been made possible by the criminal negligence (or worse) of Mr. Hughes, his first mate, naturally made it impossible for him to remain in office. He was, says Captain Hill, "accordingly discharged from any further duty on board." This seems to mean that he was degraded and sent to the forecastle. But how was he finally disposed of? In 1794 when Captain Hugh Moore of the barque *Phoenix* disagreed with his second mate, Mr. Dumarez, he simply put him ashore at Kaigahnee and left him to shift for himself—a not altogether uncommon action on the coast at that time. To answer the question the *New Hazard*'s log comes to our aid. Under date, May 13, 1811, it states:

"Rumor says that Iverson (her first mate and apparently a coarse and brutal bully) and Hewes⁵ will change places."

Then on the 15th comes the sequel:

"At 7 Mr. Hewes came on board as chief officer; Mr. Iverson repaired on board the *Otter*, whether as an officer or a passenger at present I am unable to say."

Whatever may have been the difficulties on the *Otter* one can feel sure that in exchanging to the *New Hazard* Mr. Hughes found a far worse home than that which he had left. If ever there was a ship in the American merchant service ruled with a rod of iron it was the *New Hazard*, under Captain David Nye. Her log abounds with records of floggings and personal corporal abuse: Captain Nye flogs the steward "for letting a lantern get broken," and a seaman "for not keeping the steerage clean." The following entry shows how matters were on the *New Hazard*.

"Dec. 24, 1811. . . . Heard the Capt. had ordered the meat off the supper table from the mate (i.e. Mr. Hughes). pleasant night.

⁴ The South Harbour of Kaigahnee Harbours. The above form is a corruption of the Indian name: Taddiskey. It was a favourite trading place of the maritime fur-traders.

⁵ This is the first mate of the *Otter*, Mr. Hughes. In these old logs of the maritime traders many of the proper names are spelled phonetically. Though called the log of the *New Hazard* the book was probably kept by Stephen Runnels or Reynolds, who was one of the seamen.

morning set coalpit men and woodmen ashore. breaking out hold to get out a large anchor. Mr. Hewes went to get breakfast to relieve Mr. Gale. I went to work in Fore hold. heard a noise on deck, jumped up, saw Mr. Gale with his face bloody, sitting on the arm chest & the Capt. hold of him calling for Irons, shaking of him & then ordered both 1st and 2nd Mate below, called the boatswain to get the Irons.—the Boatswain the tailor & walked forward. What this attack was for I could not tell. He flogged Cook & Steward before breakfast. Mr. Lang now chief officer."

There are no indications in the log as to how Mr. Hughes fared in that terrible brig with that flogging captain; in fact his name is only mentioned once or twice until the *New Hazard* reaches the Hawaiian Islands in October. Two days after they anchored in Kawaihee Bay, Hawaii, (October 25, 1812) the log says:

"Capt. jawed Mr. Hewes because the F.T.G. Sail an (word uncipherable) were not set. he told him he was almost ashore & he would not be troubled with him much more. Mr. Hewes was silent."

On October 29, 1812, the *New Hazard* reached Honolulu Harbour and the trials and tribulations of Mr. Hughes on that brig came to an end. The log under dates November 1 and 2 records as follows:

"News by Mr. Foret (?) Capt. Nye asked him yesterday to go Second officer down to Canton & home; he should discharge Mr. Hewes."

"Mr. Hewes went ashore, discharging ballast. I was planing M T G mast. Morning Mr. Hewes came on board, asked for his discharge. Capt. told him he never belonged to her he might go to the Devil if he liked."

And so Mr. Hughes passes off our little stage. His subsequent life does not enter into this study.

A word may be added in regard to Captain Samuel Hill. He has left a MS. *Autobiography* which has already been mentioned. According to that work he experienced a complete change of heart while in Canton, on this voyage, full details of which are set forth therein. Before that change Hill, by his own account, was a very wicked man. The *New Hazard's* log shows that the *Otter* arrived at the Hawaiian Islands in October, 1811. The entry of 10th says:

"Capt. Hill came on board. challenged Capt. Nye to fight him, which he refused. they had a long talk & parted in anger. . Mr. Williams⁶ went with four of our people in the boat on board the *Otter*

⁶ This man seems to have been an officer on the *Otter*, who desired to become one of the crew of the *New Hazard*.

after his chest. Capt. Hill got on board just as he was going away, ordered him back, his things on board again, gave him a severe caning, detained him all night but sent boat back—in morning Williams came on board, entered his protest against Capt. Hill's proceedings."

At present there is no light on the origin of the disagreement, though surmises may be made. Captain Hill returned to Boston in the *Otter* on June 14, 1812. Later he is found in the service of the well-known firm of Bryant & Sturgis. In their letter book⁷ under date, June 30, 1815 will be found a letter from them to Captain Samuel Hill of their vessel, *Ophelia*, whereby it appears that he was held in high regard by that firm and entrusted not only with her command, but also with the duties and responsibilities of a supercargo.

Every effort has been made to ascertain whether Mr. Hughes ever put forward in the press a reply showing his side of the case; no such statement has been found. In any event the dispute or ill-feeling between captain and first mate scarcely touches the attack upon the ship, which after all is the great thing.

SAVAGE ATTACK MADE ON AMERICAN BRIG OTTER

Account of the Attack Made By the Indians of Chilcadht On Board
the Brig, Otter, Samuel Hill, Master.—April 12, 1811.

(From the *Columbian Sentinel*, July 8, 1812.)

On the 11th of April, 1811, I arrived and anchored near the western arm of Lynn Canal in lat. 50° 9' N., long 135° 22' W.—On the 12th many of the principal chiefs of Chilcadht with their people visited us—they brought some furs for which they demanded a very high price. According to my constant custom with these people I did not urge the trade, not doubting they would accept of more reasonable terms in the course of the day.

Towards noon their numbers had gradually increased to about fifty men, besides some slaves and boys in the canoes alongside. The general behavior of these people gave me no reason to suspect any ill intentions on their part, and I had visited and traded with them in the preceding autumn on the most amicable terms.

About noon a dog was observed swimming alongside and making the most dismal howlings imaginable; the poor animal had a large wound in his side, and as he attempted to get into the canoes the Indians beat him off. I desired Mr. Hughes to have the stern boat lowered to take him up; the boatswain and three men came

⁷ The letter books of Bryant & Sturgis are in the Widener Memorial Library, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

aft to lower the boat; at that instant the Indians seemed to make a general move to go farther aft. I suspected some mischief, but on looking forward I observed our forecastle guard at their stations, and as I had no idea of the Indians having any arms on board I considered our situation as secure.⁸ I spoke to some of the Indians near me and desired them not to go aft, when two of them instantly seized hold of me and pressed me backward on the base of the after gun.

I perceived an attack was their object, and not wishing to give a general alarm I called for assistance in a moderate tone of voice and was immediately relieved by Mr. Thompson, carpenter of the Otter, who struck one of the Indians that held me and both of them let go immediately. On looking around I observed their daggers in motion on all sides, and some who stood abaft me brandished them in a menacing attitude. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Pierce, and the boatswain, with two seamen, were several paces abaft me; they had lowered the boat halfway down and belayed the falls, two men were in the boat; my object was to gain a moment's time for these men to get forward before I should order our fire from the forecastle, otherwise they would have been exposed to certain destruction.

I asked the Indians why they drew their daggers and with whom they were going to fight? I told them I wished not to fight but to trade. As I spoke to them I had stepped in a sidelong direction across the deck towards the larboard side, but the Indians perceiving my intention, determined on sure work, and brought down the boatswain by plunging a dagger in his head. I then sprang toward the main deck and ordered those aft to jump forward; at the same time directed the forecastle guard to fire and rake the quarter deck; the fire took place instantly and did great execution on the quarter deck.

I then ordered my men to advance upon them with their pikes, with the carpenter at their head; they advanced upon them on a full run; the Indians gave way in every direction; many of them who were wounded severely jumped overboard, while others faced our men and contended until they had received two or three thrusts with our pikes. In five minutes after our operations commenced the decks were cleared, and in fifteen minutes the Indians were cleared from alongside, and I believe but one escaped on shore alive, of all those on board at the beginning of the affair, and he had two balls in his body. He has since recovered.

⁸ In this, as in almost every case of attempted capture, the Indians had been allowed to gather on the ship's deck to trade. In the early days, before the competition became keen, the trade was always carried on from the canoes alongside and only the chiefs or other great men permitted to come on board.

Our loss was Mr. Robert Kemp, 2d mate, and Mr. John Smith, boatswain—both killed in the beginning of the attack. Wounded: Mr. William Hughes, 1st mate, Mr. Joseph Pierce jr., three seamen, and the cabin boy. Of the Indians twenty-five were killed, as ascertained by me; but their own account states their loss at 50 men, among whom they reckon thirteen principal chiefs. I have no doubt their account is tolerably correct, as I observed many who threw themselves overboard on finding themselves severely wounded. Before our decks were cleared of dead Indians and our wounded men dressed, a party of Indians had collected on shore, and commenced a brisk and continued fire of musketry on us; they were dispersed by a few cannon shot.

Much credit is due to my men for their particular attention to, and prompt execution of, my orders on this occasion—to their good conduct under Divine Providence I owe the preservation of my vessel, as I was deprived of every assistance of my officers from the very beginning of the affair.

When I came to take Mr. Hughes, my first mate, below in order to dress his wounds, he informed in presence of the carpenter and several of the men that he had expected the attack early in the forenoon as he had then seen many of the Indians on board with their daggers concealed under their left armpits. I was much surprised at this intelligence and asked Mr. Hughes why he had not informed me of that circumstance or made it known to some other person. He replied: "If I live I will tell you; but if I die it is no matter." I know not how to account for Mr. Hughes's strange conduct on this occasion. His particular duty had been to attend to and examine the Indians, as they entered the gangway in order to prevent them from bringing arms on board, ever since our arrival on this coast. For this purpose Mr. Hughes had always been stationed on the quarter deck, entirely at leisure to observe their motions, and as he had at all times executed the trust with the utmost vigilance, I had no reason to doubt his attendance on the present occasion. Mr. Hughes had removed our arm chest containing blunderbusses to the forecastle early in the morning, but he had kept the chest containing the muskets on the quarter deck, contrary to custom, and had not locked it although he had the key in his pocket; but he had remained on the quarter deck in his station all the forenoon.

It was likewise a most extraordinary circumstance that no boarding pikes were on the forecastle on that occasion, as they had at all times been kept there since our arrival on the coast; they were

now between decks. However, all this might have arisen from inadvertency, except the material circumstance of having seen the Indians' daggers concealed under their arms on board, and I had been most of the forenoon in the midst of them, entirely ignorant of the impending danger. Yet Mr. Hughes forbore to inform me—although had even the cabin boy discovered a single Indian with a dagger on board or even a knife he would immediately have told me and every one else of it. Such was the impression on every one's mind respecting this most dangerous of all weapons.

Mr. Hughes could not, I am well persuaded, wish the Indians to capture the vessel, as he must have suffered with the rest; and he was morally certain they could not effect it under the established regulations, as our dependence was always on the forecastle guard, which consisted of half our crew, and no Indian had ever been allowed to go forward of the gangway, where Mr. Kemp and two men were stationed to prevent them. To this part of the duty Mr. Hughes had attended on this occasion, as he had twice prevented some who wished to go forward during the forenoon. But Mr. Hughes very well knew that whenever these people drew their daggers, I must certainly be the first and surest victim, as I was the only person who always necessarily remained in the midst of them on the quarter deck to attend to my business of trade.

As to himself it should seem he would be equally exposed, being aft in his station on the quarter; but he certainly had on this occasion planned a mode of retreat altogether new and singular, and he came very near losing his life by it; for though he stood near me, when I first called for assistance, he did not even step towards me, but climbed up the topsail topping lift where he received his wounds, and there remained until the affair was over, when he came down by the way he went up—and had not the Indians' attention been closely occupied by the points of our boarding pikes they would undoubtedly have brought him down by a second shot. Mr. Hughes was taken every possible care of until his wounds were recovered, when he was again interrogated by me in the presence of Mr. Thompson and two seamen as to the motives he had in concealing the circumstance of the daggers; but he refused to give any particular reason, although he owned himself guilty of the fact; and still positively declared he had seen many of them armed as before stated, and expected the attack—was very sensible he had done wrong but could not now help it, and on the whole said he was glad to be discharged from office. He was accordingly discharged from any further duty on board.

At eight in the morning of the 14th we sailed from Chilcadht, bound down the straits. When abreast of Berners Bay,⁹ met a gale from S.E. This induced me to anchor about two miles north of Point Bridget¹⁰ on the bottom of soft sand in eight fathom water; the neighboring Indians visited and traded with us daily, although they informed us they were acquainted with our affair at Chilcadht, distant about 25 miles from this place. On the 19th the S.E. wind ceased, and was succeeded by light airs from the N.E. We immediately weighed anchor and every effort was made with the assistance of all our boats, to get out of the bay, but in vain—a swell setting in rendered our efforts useless.

We anchored again and at daybreak the next morning a sudden and violent gale commenced from the N.W. with which our anchor was dragged, and the vessel beginning to strike aft, precluded the possibility of letting go another with success; to carry out was impracticable with the swell then rolling in. Within us an extensive sandy beach and the tide of flood just making. After a few minutes consultation with Mr. Thompson, the only person I had then to assist me as an officer, I determined to veer out our cables and let her drive on, which was accordingly done—the measure succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations; the sand being soft formed a bank within us, and when the tide fell she remained upright in her bed. Not a sheet of copper was started nor the least apparent injury sustained.

On the 22d the gale having moderated and wind shifted, discharged our ballast and laid out anchors, and hove off at midnight. With a favoring breeze sailed for Huhsenkoo,¹¹ where we anchored and again commenced our trade with the natives.

F. W. HOWAY.

⁹ A bay on the easterly side of Lynn Canal, about twenty-five miles from the entrance of Chilkat Inlet.

¹⁰ The southerly point at the entrance to Berners Bay.

¹¹ A well-known trading place on the west side of Admiralty Island, Chatham Strait, Alaska. The name is spelled by the traders in many forms. The most usual is: Hoot-sen-hoo. It is a corruption of an Indian word: Kenasn'hu, meaning, "near the fortified place."

HISTORIC BREAD RIOT IN VIRGINIA CITY

Virginia City, Montana Territory, in the Spring of 1865 was approaching the mature age of two years and was coming to the end of her second winter. With her three suburbs, Nevada, Central and Summit, the fast growing camp could boast of a population of over 10,000. It was located 400 miles from Salt Lake the nearest and most regular source of supplies and 500 miles from the head of practical navigation on the Missouri and 200 miles from Fort Benton on the same river to which steamboats could reach once or twice in a favorable season.

The camp, thus located, was isolated from the outside world during the winter months; so it was necessary to accumulate sufficient supplies in the fall to feed and cloth this large population. Due to accident or failure of the merchants to properly gauge the needs of the community there developed in the Spring of 1865 a decided fear that the supply of flour on hand would not be sufficient to supply the ordinary demands until the first freight trains arrived from Salt Lake.

The purpose of this paper is to show the sudden rise in the price of flour, the results that followed the exploitation of the miners by speculators and the sudden return to normal conditions as soon as the melting of the snows in the mountains opened the roads to the freight trains.

As I am to deal with prices at a time when the treasury notes were at a low ebb and might cause some question to arise as to the real value of money, I will quote from the heading of the Market Report of the *Montana Post*, of Jan. 14, 1865, the source of practically all the figures used in this paper. "Non resident readers will please note that our quotations are based upon actual transactions and are gold prices. The retail prices average 10% above quotations."

In the fall of 1864 flour could be purchased in quantity at the following prices St. Louis Winter Wheat Flour, 26.50 per 98 lb. sack; States Flour, 25.00; Salt Lake Flour, 24.00—(*Montana Post* Sept. 17, 1864 Market Report.)

Five months later the market report in the *Montana Post* for Feb. 25, 1865, quotes flour slightly cheaper than was the case in September, the prices are as follows: St. Louis Flour, 26.00 per sack; Salt Lake Flour, 22.00; States Flour, 23.00 to 24.00.

Three weeks later, many people were very much interested in

the state of their flour bins and sacks. Earlier than this some dealers must have come to the conclusion that there was not sufficient flour on hand to last until the roads would be open again. The Market Report in the *Montana Post* of March 18, 1865, gives the following report on the situation. "Flour—Is on a rampage, For the present it may have touched the highest point and possibly may decline. Everyone is asking: What is the matter with flour. There is nothing the matter with flour. The question is with the generous holders of the staple. They think the honest, hard working miner will run short before spring arrivals and they very considerably, for their benefit, raised the prices to thirty dollars a sack." Flour the next week is quoted in the issue of March 25 at \$30.00 to \$32.00 a sack without any comment.

The issue of the *Montana Post* for April 1, 1865 indicates that the situation is becoming more acute. I quote as follows from the Market Report: "Flour—The market has been very excited during the past week. A large business being transacted at the unprecedented high prices, ranging from \$30.00 to \$37.00 for Salt Lake and ordinary States. Extra St. Louis reached \$40.00 and some holders are over these figures.

"How long flour will remain at these figures it is impossible to state. It may even run higher as all are aware that the stock in the market is light and prospect for new arrivals is not very favorable for even one month.

"Consumers are now thrown on the tender mercies of the holders and speculators to be dealt with according to their ideas of justice and equity."

Two weeks later the *Montana Post* of April 16 simply quotes flour as follows: "Flour is in considerable demand at a considerable advance over last quotations. St. Louis, 48.00 to 50.00; Salt Lake, 45.00 to 47.00.

This was the lull before the storm for in the *Post* for April 22, 1865, the market simply went wild; I quote as follows: "Flour—Market during the past week has been very active. Several lots of flour changed hands, prices at the close of the week were optional with the buyers.

"April 16—The flour market open at an advance of ten dollars a sack and by 11 A.M. had reached a nominal price of 65.00 for 98 lb. sack. the day closed with a further advance of 5.00 a sack.

"April 17—The demand for flour is increasing. The market opened at yesterday's prices. Before 10 o'clock it had reached

75.00 a sack. 11 o'clock rolls round and finds dealers in the staple asking 80.00 per 98 lb. sack. A few transactions were made at these figures. Before 12 o'clock transfers were made at 85.00 a sack and some dealers were asking further advance of 5.00 a sack. Consumers having no other resource were compelled to concede to the nominal price of holders and paid 90.00 a sack in gold.

"April 18—Flour is truly on a rampage no concession from dealers prices on the part of very few holders of considerable quantities with still further advance of 5.00 a sack which brings the price of an average lot of flour to the unprecedented figures, in this market of 1.00 a pound.

"April 19—The flour market weakened under the excitement of arrival reports from some new speculators in the market, transfer of some small lots being made at 80.00 per sack."

The above is a plain statement of probably the wildest orgy which the flour market of the United States has ever seen. What the honest, hardworking miner thought and did about the plain and unvarnished attempt to profit by his need for bread should be of interest, but we can know very little about his thoughts. His acts were sudden and decisive even as they had been in the days of the Vigilantes.

The drop of 15.00 a sack which was noted on the 19th did not satisfy the miners for we find the following item in the *Montana Post* for April 22 which gives better than any words of mine what the miners did about the question. I quote:

"Flour—On Tuesday last the citizens were informed that large bodies of men armed and organized, were marching from Nevada, with avowed determination to take all the flour in town, and devide it among those who had none.

"The information was soon to be verified by the appearance of 480 men marching in file armed with revolvers, rifles, shotguns or carbines. This force was under a leader on horseback, displaying an empty flour sack as a banner. The men were divided into six companies, each commanded by a captain and moved as directed in military fashion. There was no doubt of their intentions. They commenced at the foot of Wallace Street and searched every store, house, cabin and cellar in which they suspected flour was concealed. The results were about 82 sacks of flour which were safely stored away in Liviathan Hall. The search was pretty thorough and disclosed sundry lots of flour concealed under oats in boxes, barrels, etc. and one large find was stored away under a hay stack. The whole

proceeding was of a most novel character. Here was an armed force determined to have all the flour that could be found in stores of the property of dealers, wherever hidden; and yet going through the matter as steadily and quietly as if it were a seizure by order of the courts. In very few instances would the men notice a remark addressed to them; but they pressed on after their captain, halted, fronted and stood like a provost guard, while the leader made known his business and detailed a party for search. This being completed, if flour was found it was packed off without ceremony, an account being kept and a promise to pay for all at a rate of 27.00 for Salt Lake Flour and 30.00 for States being given the owner. One of the chiefs of the body walked into our office, and a written copy to the dealers signed 'Flour Committee' ordering them to sell flour at 27.00 and 30.00 a sack. For the printing he handed us dust in advance. No act of violence has been reported to us to the hour of writing. A meeting was held in the evening at Leviathan Hall and judging by the cheering—the speeches suited the audience.

"A representation having been made to the committee, of three cases, in one which flour had been taken from a boarding house keeper, another in which a bakers stock had been confiscated and in a third a German family lost a sack the complaints were investigated and the flour returned next day.

"On Wednesday, the distribution of the flour to the necessitous was made 12 lb. being given to each man willing to affirm that he had none and could get none. A double ration and in some cases a triple ration was given to those having families."

"On Thursday the Committee called upon Professor Dimsdale and J. E. McClurg to accompany them and witness payment of the parties from which flour had been taken. The list of disbursements is as follows—all in gold, at the rate of 27.00 for Salt Lake and 30.00 for St. Louis Flour.

George Mann	459.00	Joseph Marcon	540.00
J. T. Sullivan	210.00	John Creiton	270.00
Ming & North	180.00	Kercheval & Co.	150.00
Henry Schwerk	60.00	Tohmy & Porke	60.00
George Gahlon	30.00	Erfort Bros. & Co.	525.00"
Wm. Lambert	39.00		

This ended the "Bread Riot" which the news section of the *Montana Post* seemed to approve but editorially the paper took a slightly different stand. I quote as follows:

"Flour is seized where ever found in large or small quantities

and taken to the common depot. On the pretext under which several lots of flour were confiscated, we do not consider it wrong or objectionable to store flour under the present circumstances, in fire-proof cellars or warehouses. We, however, do not endorse the concealing of flour under floors or hay stacks when the article is up to the present price. We know of no parties that were holders of flour that could not have realized a handsome profit at 75.00 a sack, but in favor of the merchants that have invested in the staple, at high figures, we should state that we have known of flour to be sold in a circumference of a few hundred miles, at a rate of 5.00 a pound, and no raiders in the market."

The seizure of the flour and the following distribution of the same to those who needed it did not seem to worry the leaders of the movement, but the statement referred to above ordering the dealers to sell in the future seemed to give the Four Committee some worry and the same issue of the paper published the following statement.

"Virginia City, April 21, 1865.—We the undersigned, do hereby certify that no authority was ever granted by us, or with our knowledge or consent, to any person ordering the printing of a notice to the flour dealers that they should for the future sell Salt Lake flour for 27.00 and States flour for 30.00. Neither did we authorize the printing of any notice whatsoever; but if our names were used by anybody, it was without authority to do so, and a private and highly reprehensible act contrary to the principles that have actuated us throughout.

S. R. Blake

P. Murphy

Joseph Kieth

Wm. Johnson

R. Huget

John B. Krenon

Pat Carroll

Flour Committee."

The issue of the *Montana Post* of April 29, 1865, gives a view of the situation a week later. I quote from the Market Report.

"Four—The excitement in the market reprinted in the last issue of the *Post* has subsided. A few sacks of flour were offered early in the week, and sold readily at 80.00 per sack. We have not heard of any other lots offered for any sales. At present we do not know of any flour in the market. By our next review we hope to give quotations at some figures. The demand for all kinds of substitutes for flour have been heavy, and the market is now nearly bare of rice, beans, homony and etc."

It was about three weeks before any flour appeared on the

market, but the *Post* for May 27, 1865, quotes flour as follows: St. Louis flour, 28.00 to 30.00; States, 28.00 to 30.00; Salt Lake, 22.00 to 23.00. A week later Salt Lake flour had fallen to a price of 19.00 to 21.00 dollars and the issue of the *Post* for June 10, 1865, shows Salt Lake Tanner Provo (a favorite brand) quoted at from 18.00 to 19.00.

This covers the flour panic of the Spring of 1865 and in a later article on the cost of Living in the camp from 1863 to 1865 I will try and show the prices of commodities other than flour during this crisis. There was plenty of food at what were for the time and place reasonable prices but the miner felt that he must have bread.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM MOORE

Captain William Moore was one of the outstanding pioneer characters of the northwestern frontier, from the State of Washington through British Columbia and into Alaska where he played a prominent part in the stirring days of the gold excitement of the Klondike.

He was born in Germany March 30, 1822, and came to the United States about 1845 or 1846. Beginning at the age of seven years in a sea faring life, he sailed on schooners on the North Sea. About 1845 or 1846 he came to New Orleans, where he married his wife Hendrika, and where his son John was born in 1848.

He left no written records but he was often heard to mention that he was on the USS. *Lawrence* on the Gulf of Mexico during the Mexican War, and while he was in no engagements he heard the guns of Taylor's army at times in some of the battles on the shore. He became a naturalized citizen soon after arrival in the United States.

About 1851 he went to California following the gold stampede to that country; was in Klamath for a while; then joined the company of gold seekers who went to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852. This venture proving a failure, he went to Peru, where he procured a schooner and engaged in the coasting trade. One of the frequent revolutions in the country rising, his wife was so frightened that he returned to California in 1856.

In 1858 the Fraser River gold mines were discovered and his adventurous spirit led him to follow the throng of men who hurried by sea and by land to that region. He landed at Victoria in 1858.

The material for this sketch is from a MS by Captain Wm. D. Moore, his son, who was born in Peru in 1854, and who accompanied his father to the mines of the Caribou and Cassiar, and who after an adventurous life in the mines and on the navigation of the Stikeen River, went to the Yukon and was one of the Pioneer swift water captains of that northern stream. This material is supplemented by notes from Captain Moore personally, from letters from Captain W. D. Moore, and from contemporary records. The MS, which was deposited in the Library of the University of Washington, among the historical records of that institution, relates:

"Hearing of the rich gold strike made on the Fraser River, British Columbia, he at once took his family, household effects, some

goats and pigs, and embarked in the early spring of 1858. He at once built a small house for his family (at Victoria), and built a 15 ton barge which he named the *Blue Boat* and engaged in carrying freight from Victoria to New Westminster and thence up the Fraser River to the different mining camps as far as Fort Hope, which was an old Hudson's Bay Company trading post.

He made money very fast so that in 1859 he was the owner of a small stern wheel steamer named the *Henrietta*¹ and operated her between New Westminster and Port Douglas at the head of Harrison Lake, the waters of which emptied into the Fraser River by Harrison River.

The merchant Dodge, also a merchant Jack and his brother Uriah Nelson, shipped a number of pack mules and employed men and cut a pack trail from Port Douglas to Lillooet on the Fraser River, as the miners were following the gold up the river.

The Government began exploring and found it would be better to build a pack trail up through the Fraser River Canyon which was quite an undertaking at that time. They succeeded and trains began packing from Fort Yale, and the Douglas Route was practically abandoned. It was astonishing what they would put on those mules backs. Iron safes, billiard tables in sections, large barrels set on top of the *aparajos*. G. B. Wright had the machinery of his steamer packed in sections from Fort Yale on mules' backs to Soda Creek on the Fraser River.

Captain Moore built a stern wheel steamer and named her the *Flying Dutchman*.² She was the first steamer to arrive at Fort Yale, head of navigation on the lower Fraser. A wagon road was built as soon as Caribou was discovered and a great piece of work it was.

In 1861 news came that gold was discovered on Stikeen River in Alaska. Moore sold the steamer *Henrietta* and built a twin screw steamer named *J. W. Moore*. In 1862 Moore steamed the *Flying Dutchman* up to Fort Wrangel into Alaska about 600 miles from Victoria, B.C., up the coast, having to cut the wood for the steamer along the way. The natives were very saucy in those days, it took considerable patience to avoid trouble with them.

1 The first steamer on the inland waters of British Columbia according to *Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* was the "Governor Douglas," and she made her trial trip in January 1859, followed in May by the steamer "Colonel Moody" and later by the "Henrietta." Page 81.

On page 82 of the same book is a portrait of the Captain, with a note; "Capt. William Moore, better known as "Bill" Moore, who has always been an interesting figure in British Columbia marine circles, was born in Hanover, Prussia, and, after following the sea for a number of years, arrived at Queen Charlottes Island in 1852 on the brig *Tepec*."

Bancroft's *History of British Columbia*, p. 346, has an account of the gold strike.

2 The steamer *Flying Dutchman*, was a sternwheeler, built in 1860, but was not put in service until January 1861. *Ibid.* p. 98.

While operating his steamer on the Stikeen the natives told him several times that he must stop running his steamer as she made so much noise that she would scare their fish and game away, however he operated the steamer on the Stikeen River up about 145 miles from Fort Wrangell till in October; then steamed her back to Victoria.

He then laid the keel on another sternwheel steamer which was completed in the early spring of 1863 and named her *Alexandra*.³ He operated the *Alexandra* between Victoria, New Westminster and up the Fraser River once a week and one trip a week to Port Angeles and Steilacoom on Puget Sound for cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, hay, grain, etc., these commodities were all shipped to Victoria those days.

Moore was a little in debt getting the new steamer built and running opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company boats from Victoria to New Westminster. Capt. Irving's and other sternwheels on Fraser River, also against the Puget Sound boats. He began to be harassed by his creditors who would not give him time, so he steamed the *Flying Dutchman* and *Alexandra* to Utsalady W.T. and tried to come to terms. His creditors would not come to terms. They were assisted by other steamboat men to down Moore. He sold the *Flying Dutchman* to Grenon and Crany of the Utsalady saw mills, the *Alexandra* he laid up in Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island, she having a United States Marshal on board, but one night a party came on boats from Victoria with Captain and engineer, put the machinery together and steamed her to Victoria with the United States Marshal on board.

In the spring of 1864 Moore took his family in a small sloop with their household effects, also the old goats, which mother could not part with, and sailed for New Westminster. Moore purchased a barge, fitted her with masts, sails, etc., and traded between Puget Sound and New Westminster.

In 1865 a rich gold strike being made in the Big Bend of the Columbia River, B.C. Moore took his son J. W. and three men and went up to Shuswap Lake where he built a barge. After making a few trips from Savannahs Ferry, foot of Kamloops Lake to Seymour, head of Shuswap Lake he preempted a piece of land 12 miles from a Hudson's Bay Company post named Kamloops, where he built a house, then sent for his family.

³ "Several new steamers appeared in the waters of Puget Sound and British Columbia, the most important of them a big sternwheeler, the *Alexandra*, built at Victoria by Captain Moore." *Ibid.* 127 p.

The next year he came to the conclusion to leave this part of the country as the strike in the Big Bend country did not amount to much. Cattle raising and farming looked too slow for him. Early this spring he took his whole family, household goods, with two wagons and two horses to each to Savannah's Ferry, started up the wagon road for Quesnell.

This little town of Quesnell was nicely situated on a level bank well out of reach of the freshets of the rivers. It is at the junction of the Quesnell River and the Fraser. It had a Hudson's Bay Company Post, three other stores, and two saloons. The steamer *Enterprise*, G. B. Wright, owner, plied between this place and Soda Creek about 65 miles. The Western Union Telegraph Company had the telegraph line completed beyond this town on its way through British Columbia and Alaska to Siberia. Work on this telegraph line was discontinued during the next year on account of the completion of the Atlantic Cable.

Moore purchased two mules and a wagon and moved his family to the town of Barkerville,⁴ Williams Creek, in the Caribou country. This year Henrietta and Wilhelmina were sent by stage coach from Barkerville to a convent in New Westminster.

Captain Moore worked in the mines at Barkerville that year. The mining claims in the vicinity of Barkerville were 40 feet deep. They timbered and put lagging to hold up the dirt. The most of the claims had overshot wheels to hoist the dirt. There were several stores, butcher shops, three hotels, one bank, several saloons and two dance halls where German girls were employed to dance. Gambling was carried on to its fullest extent. One mile up the creek was the little town of Richfield, which had a couple of saloons, a hotel and a butcher shop. Here the Government held court and here the jail was situated. On up a short mile farther was the only sawmill owned by Meacham and Nason. There were several hydraulic claims in operation between this and Barkerville. Another little town about one and one fourth miles down the creek from Barkerville was called Camerontown. At Richfield a white man and a native were hung for committing murder. They were guilty of separate crimes but were hung on the same scaffold.

Moore, Senior, moved with his family to Dunbar Flat on Lightning Creek in 1868, where he built a log house.

News of a gold strike being made on Jamieson Creek, a tribu-

⁴ Barkerville was the distributing point for the gold mining region called the "Caribou." The Caribou mines were discovered in 1860, and yielded between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 in the next twenty years. See *Id.* p. 514.

tary of Omineca River, which empties into the Mackenzie, thence into the Arctic Ocean, Moore at once moved with his family to Quesnell, here he entered into an agreement with a Mr. Ellmore to deliver about 15 tons of freight at Tatla Landing.

Just before they arrived at Quesnell there were seven natives hung on one gallows for the murder of a family who entered their country to settle down to farming. This country was called the Chillicooten, and lies between Fraser River and a branch of the sea called Bentick Arm.

Moore and sons began work on a barge which he agreed to build to carry freight. Quite a number of Chinamen wintered at this place, cutting cordwood and rocking on the bars of the river in summer for gold, a few had ranches and did teaming, etc. Kong Lee had a large store, also in Barkerville, Caribou.

The winter passed quickly. Moore Senior, in the spring when the river was well clear of ice, loaded his barge and procured a number of men to help him tow the boat along the banks of rivers and lakes to Tatla, taking with him his son J. W.

A letter from his (Wm. D. Moore's) father and brother was received telling him of their hard trip up the Fraser River and Stuart River, up the lakes to Tatla⁵ Landing and across the portage which is about 40 miles to Omineca⁶ River which empties into Peace River, thence into Mackenzie, this river empties into the Arctic Ocean. They went down Omineca River which is very sluggish and very crooked about 70 odd miles to the mouth of Jamieson Creek. They went up and located claims but had not got gold out as yet.

William D. Moore received another letter from his father stating that he had left Jamieson Creek with his son J. W. at the close of the season and went up Omineca River to the new place called Hogem, where the trail leads to Tatla. Mr. Ellmore set up a store at this place and charged such exorbitant prices that the miners named the place Hogem. He charged \$1.50 per pound for bacon, \$1.00 a pound for flour and everything else in proportion. Moore went by way of Fry Pan Pass, a distance of about 30 miles from Tatla Lake over a dim native trail to Babeen Lake, at this place was a Hudson's Bay Company Post kept by Thomas Charles.⁷ This Fry Pan Pass was a very bad portage as there was considerable dry fallen timber, the trail was very hard to follow, when there was a slight fall of snow. Some six or seven men lost their way and never were found.

⁵ Tatla, or Tatu, Lake is given on the map as Tacla.

⁶ Omineca, an Indian name of the huckleberry growing there. Banc. Hist. p. 543.

⁷ Thomas Charles was in charge of Fort George in 1863. *Id.* p. 385.

Moore was very short of food, he asked Mr. Charles for flour. Mr. Charles exclaimed that he had only 250 lbs. for his allowance for him and his family but he would spare him 50 lbs. for \$50.00. He took the 50 lbs., and it was divided among 6 of them. He then started from there in a native canoe for the foot of Babeen Lake⁸ which is 15 miles to the portage. The whole length of Babeen Lake is 110 miles. With his blankets on his back he walked over the Indian trail to Hazelton of the Skeena River. This portage is 75 miles long. Hazelton got its name on account of the hazel nuts which grow in the vicinity. Cunningham and Hankin kept a trading store here. Moore procured a canoe from the natives and went down the Skeena River to Spokeshoot which is on the coast. Here he and his son J. W. took passage on the Hudson's Bay Company's steam ship *Otter*, down the coast to Victoria, where he found his wife and children who were in good health and very glad to see him.

Moore Jr. (William D.) received a letter from his father stating that he had entered into an agreement with one named Stirling to transport a quantity of goods from Victoria to Tatla Landing by way of the Skeena River across the portage to Babeen Lake, thence up to the Hudson's Bay Company Post and across the Fry Pan Pass, across Tatla Lake to Tatla Landing. He was constructing a flat bottom center board schooner to transport freight from Victoria to Hazelton on the Skeena River, and for him to try to get passage from Quesnell to Tatla Landing to meet him there. Moore Jr. was glad to hear this as there was a man J. B. Lovell constructing a boat at Quesnell who intended to load her with goods for Tatla Landing. He promised Moore passage with him. When the Fraser got well clear of ice, the boat was loaded and they started up stream, there were nine men including Moore.

"We got to the mouth of Nechako River. Here was a Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post. We turned from the Fraser River here and go up the Nechako River. The Trader at this place was named McGregor. The Nechako River is a clear water stream as it comes out of large lakes, the Fraser River being of whitish color, the Nechako is very rapid in places, there were two places where we had to portage freight and boat. We proceeded up the Nechako River to the mouth of Stuart River, and arrived at Stuart's Lake⁹ where there is a Hudson's Bay Company trading post, close to the

⁸ Babeen Lake seems to have been named from the Babines, a native tribe inhabiting the shores of the lake. Morice, *History of Northern Interior of British Columbia*, p. 4.

⁹ At Stuart Lake was Fort St. James, *Id.* p. 63.

outlet of the lake. Ogden,¹⁰ a Red River half-breed (was) in charge. Here we rested up for one day. The men working for the Company were very much pleased when they were asked to join them (the crew) at dinner, the dried fruit they (we?) served was a great treat to them, also smoking tobacco, their H.B. Co.'s tobacco resembled a coil of three-fourths inch black rope. They had a fine garden here a good many cows also. The two other men were the only whites at the post, a good many half breed children were in evidence. We also met a Jesuit Father named Lagack,¹¹ he seemed to be a conscientious man. He had the natives pretty well under control; the native village was close to the post. In cases of adultery the woman and paramour were both flogged publicly; the natives done this themselves. These natvies attended the church regularly."

They left here with a nice, fair wind, rigged up a sail and arrived at what is called Tache River about 20 miles in length with one very bad rapid, almost a falls, where they portaged boat and freight, they then arrived at Twombley Lake.¹² It was not over 15 miles to an easy river and not much current of about 40 miles. Arrived at Tatla Lake they were three days getting over the lake to Tatla Landing, the place being about three hundred miles from Quesnell. They saw quite a number of moose and caribou, one of the men killed one bear and two caribou, they also killed with sticks three porcupine on their trip up. These lakes have white fish, ling, salmon trout and later on in the season the salmon would come up into these lakes up through the canyon of the Fraser over rapids and falls for about 600 miles from the coast. A good many boats were ahead of them and a good many men had come by the Skeena River route.

Moore Jr., stopped here two days, then went to meet his father at the Fry Pan Pass Landing, and his brothers J. W., and Henry, who were with him. They were fixing up the big barge he had built at Quesnell and which he had left here the fall before. They took the freight, which the Indians had packed on their backs to Tatla Landing, where they met a man who had started from Quesnell with 56 pack animals. he had come on ahead to engage Moore and his barge to go down to the lower end of Twombley Lake and bring the freight of the animals on his barge to Tatla Landing. They agreed on a price. The man was getting tired of the trip having to cut a trail for the animals and it being worse ahead they took the load off the animals. The packers drove the animals along the bank.

¹⁰ Peter Ogden, son of Peter Skene Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Co., was in charge at Fort George in 1863. Banc. *Hist. B.C.*, p. 385. He died October 9, 1870, being in charge of New Caledonia at that time. Morice, *Hist. Nor. B.C.*, p. 319.

¹¹ Probably Father Lejacq, who is mentioned in Morice's *Hist. Nor. Brit. Col.*, pp. 331 *et seq.*

¹² Called Tremble Lake, in Morice, *Hist.* p. 3.

After loading the freight on the barge they soon caught up to the men and animals. Bohanon, the owner of the animals, arranged with Moore to take 30 of the animals on the barge as he wished to hurry to get to Tatla Landing and pack from there to Hogem, on the Omineca River. Moore bought 26 animals from Bohanon for \$200 per head including aparahoes and rigging. He intended taking the animals to Fry Pan Pass Portage and also on the Skeena and Babeen Portage.

Captain Moore left his sons W.D., and Henry, with two men to drive the animals as far as they could along the bank of the river and lake. He left them what provisions he thought was necessary, and then started with the barge and was soon out of sight.

They got around Twombley Lake and the river, to a point on Tatla Lake almost abreast of the Fry Pan Pass, this pass being on the opposite side. They would wait here for their father, who would return from Tatla to meet them. He had a fair wind down the lake and passed without seeing them. The boys saw the sails far away and set fire to trees, but he did not return. He told them afterwards that he saw the smoke but thought it was an Indian signal. However, when he got to the outlet of Tatla Lake he landed on the left limit and there he saw the tracks of the horses. He could not come back rapidly on account of head wind, consequently they were out of grub for four days. On the fourth day one of the men who was a Mexican, said; "I will not go without food any longer." So he got a horse and tied him up and would have killed him, but Henry was watching, and called out that his father was coming.

When Captain Moore got there he kissed them both, the tears running down his cheeks. They got very sick, for they ate a little too much although their father watched them closely, they would steal away the food any way.

The animals were then loaded on the barge and went across the lake to the F.P. Portage (Fry Pan). It was not a bad portage. The most work was cutting through fallen timber. They left half the animals here and drove the other half around Babeen Lake. There was a Hudson's Bay Company Post here where the Indian Trail strikes Babeen Lake, called Fort Babeen. T. Charles was the chief factor. It is about 20 miles from here to the foot of the lake where the portage is to the Skeena River. Babeen River is a succession of rapids and falls and empties into the Skeena River. They drove 13 animals to Skeena Portage.

Captain Moore met Mr. Woodcock, whom he had taken into partnership to build a pack trail from Skeena River to Babeen Lake

he having got a charter from the Canadian Government. Mr. Woodcock had a force of men to work. They got the trail so that animals could get over it and kept improving it till it was finished. Shortly after he (Captain Moore) brought the other horses from Fry Pan Pass to the Babeen Portage, now having 26 head in the one train which Moore operated from Hazelton to Babeen Lake.

There were two stores at Hazelton, one kept by Tom Hankin and one by C. Yeoman. The natvies here are called the Huklegates who have their village a short distance up a tributary of the Skeena and a few miles from Hazelton. Some of these natives were employed by Tom Hankin to bring some freight up the Sheena with their canoes. While they were getting through the rapid water of Kitzegoogler¹³ Canyon one native was drowned; the others stopped there until they found the body which was in a couple of days. They then put the body in a rude box, brought it up to Hazelton and set it down not further than 100 feet from Hankin's door. They then demanded payment, as that is their law if a native gets hurt, killed or dies of sickness when in the employ of others, the employer must pay or die. The price is according to the ability of the deceased when alive. Tom put them off, thinking, because there were a few white men around he might get out of paying them, but when he saw them come into the store with their knives and guns he got busy and settled up.

Shortly after, Moore brought the other horses from Fry Pan Pass to the Babeen Portage. Now he had 26 animals in the one train which he operated till Fall when he had them taken down the Skeena about 40 miles by two men to look after them the coming winter. Moore Sr. and his sons and 50 miners went on down the Skeena River aboard the barges. It was quite a wild ride over the rapids and through the canyon, making the 150 miles in two days to Woodcock's as it was named at that time. This man Woodcock kept a store of liquors etc. Here, they remained for a few days when the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Otter* arrived. They then took passage on this steamer with no less than 150 miners for Victoria, B.C. On arriving at Victoria Moore found his wife and children well. He arranged with the Hudson's Bay Co., to transport freight for them up the Skeena River.

(To be continued)

C. L. ANDREWS.

¹³ Kitzegoogler; a river coming from the south a little above the Kitwanga River enters the Skeena River on the north. Canadian Government Interior Department map of 1898.

THE NORTH IDAHO ANNEXATION ISSUE

(Continued from Vol. XXI, page 137)

Senator Wilson (Mass.) objected to the name Montana. He declared that Montana was no name at all and moved to substitute the name Idaho. The Senate did not act on his motion at the time. After the Harding amendment on the boundaries had been accepted, the Senator from Massachusetts renewed his attempt to change the name. Senator Doolittle opposed the change, but Harding supported Wilson; Doolittle withdrew his opposition and without formal vote the name was changed to Idaho.¹⁰ But the great change which the Senate made in the bill was the modification of the boundary, which was brought about by Benjamin F. Harding,¹¹ of Oregon. Harding stated that, in his opinion, the figures given by Nesmith of the present population were much too large, as he did not think that there were more than 5,000 people in the region, but as the bill stood, it did not take in the population that wanted territorial government.¹² Accordingly he moved to amend the description of the boundaries to read as follows:

Beginning at a point in the middle channel of the Snake river, where the northern boundary of Oregon intersects the same; thence following down said channel of Snake river to a point opposite the mouth of Kooskooska, or Clearwater river; thence due north to the

¹⁰ When the Territory of Colorado was organized, in 1861, the name given to the territory in the bill as it passed the House was *Idaho*. It was changed to *Colorado* in the Senate.

¹¹ Benjamin F. Harding was born in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, January 14, 1823. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1847. He began the practice of his profession in Illinois, but the lure of the West caught his imagination, and he reached California with the Argonauts of 1849. His stay in California was brief, and the next year he arrived in Salem, Oregon, and settled in Marion county. While a lawyer by profession, he devoted most of his time to farming and politics, and was reputed to be one of the shrewdest politicians in the state. He was United States attorney before the organization of the state government and was three times a member of the state legislature. He was Secretary of the territory from 1855 to 1859 by appointment of President Pierce. As a member of the Salem Clique, along with Asahel Bush, of the Oregon Statesman, Senator J. W. Nesmith, R. P. Boise, and Lafayette Grover, he was influential in the early political history of Oregon.

His election to the United States Senate in 1862 was to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Colonel Edward D. Baker, who was killed at the battle of Ball's Bluff, and was for the unexpired portion of Baker's term. There were several candidates and after a prolonged struggle, Harding, who was speaker of the House of Representatives, was chosen on the 30th ballot. Orange Jacobs, later to be mentioned as a delegate from Washington Territory, missed election on an earlier ballot by only three votes.

In the Senate, Harding, who was a Douglas Democrat, like his colleague, Nesmith, supported the policies of President Lincoln during the last session of the 37th and 38th Congresses. In 1864, the legislature chose Judge Williams, a Republican, to succeed Harding. In 1864, he supported McClellan for the presidency and tried, after the war was over, along with Asahel Bush, to reorganize the Democrats of the state under the leadership of Andrew Johnson.

Benjamin Harding was twice married. His first wife was Sally M. Bush, and seven children were born to this union. After her death he married, in 1867, Mrs. Eliza Cox, who died several years before her husband. During the last twelve years of his life, he lived at Cottage Grove, Oregon, and here he was stricken with paralysis, June 5, 1899, and died on the 16th. He was buried at Cottage Grove.

¹² The senator was probably honestly mistaken in this, as the greater part of the mining population was then in Boise Basin and Salmon river camps, which lay south of the forty-sixth parallel. The most of the Clearwater mines were north, but these had declined in importance.

forty-ninth parallel of latitude; thence along said parallel of latitude to the twenty-seventh degree of longitude west from Washington; thence south along said degree of longitude to the northern boundary of Colorado Territory; thence west along said boundary to the thirty-third degree of longitude west of Washington; thence north along said degree to the forty-second parallel of latitude; thence west along said parallel to the eastern boundary of the State of Oregon; thence north along said boundary to the place of beginning.

This amendment was agreed to without division. Its effect was to include in the Territory all of the present areas of Idaho and Montana and nearly all of the present area of Wyoming. It virtually doubled the size of the territory proposed by the House of Representatives. It may seem remarkable that a decision so fraught with future difficulties should have been made so lightly, but no one at that time apparently had any idea of the peculiar inconveniences that would perplex the people of North Idaho a generation later. Great events were hastening on their way; 1863 was the decisive year of the Civil War; and the sands in the hour glass of the 37th Congress were nearly run.

It seems reasonable to believe that if the House Committee plan had been adopted, the Bitterroot range would have become the boundary between Montana and Washington in 1864, with no narrow extension of Idaho Territory reaching to the forty-ninth parallel. It is unlikely, however, that Senator Harding proposed the boundary amendment without knowing that there was a considerable body of public opinion in western Washington which favored the line drawn due north from the mouth of the Clearwater. But while this plan of division was probably not original with Harding, the fact remains that to Benjamin Harding, more than to any man of his time, the Idaho Panhandle owes its existence, and in a certain sense is a monument to a public man whose connection with his work has been long forgotten.

The amended bill passed the Senate by a vote of 25 to 12, and was promptly sent to the House. Ashley demanded a conference and was unwilling to accept the Senate amendments, but yielded¹³ at the solicitation of Sargent, of California, who reminded him that the closing hours would not admit a conference, and that to try to make better terms with the Senate would probably defeat the measure and deprive the people of the mining areas of an organized gov-

13 *Cong. Globe*, 37th Congress, third session; p. 1542.

ernment. Ashley¹⁴ reluctantly acquiesced and the bill passed the House by a vote of 65 to 33.

In the Pacific Northwest the opinion seems to have been general that Congress would take some action to divide the unwieldy territory of Washington. News travelled slowly; the overland telegraph had reached California, and the California papers had the latest reports from the East, but neither Oregon nor Washington had telegraphic connection with California until 1864, and had to rely on stages and steamships from San Francisco for information. As expressions of popular opinion at the time, the newspapers in the northwest both in their editorials and in communications from correspondents, furnish considerable information. John Miller Murphy, in the *Washington Standard* (Olympia) of February 21, 1863, writes:

"The whole matter can be summed up in a few words; incompatibility of interests, the inaccessibility of the public offices and records to those residing in the extreme limits, and the differences in the habits of the people, and the progress of the country demand such a division with our extensive border of coast and inland sea, justice would establish that line as far east as the 117th meridian,¹⁵ and thus include the fertile Walla Walla valley."

On March 16, 1863, the *Overland Press* (Olympia) expressed its editorial opinion quite in agreement with the views of the Standard:

"The most important item of Congressional information that has reached us during the past week is that of a division of Washington Territory. This measure, which had its advocates and opponents, is carried out to the delight of some and the disgust of others. How or where the dividing line is run, there is thus far no certain means of ascertaining; but it is fair to presume that the meridian of longitude which has hitherto divided Oregon on the east from the southern elbow of Washington Territory will be continued due north, thus giving the Territory of Washington the same eastern base. A line running due north from the northeastern boundary of Oregon would still leave us a large territory with abundant and

¹⁴ Both Idaho and Montana were organized as territories while James M. Ashley was chairman of the House Committee on Territories. He was the third governor of Montana to be appointed, but held the office less than a year, as President Grant who made the appointment, removed Ashley for criticizing administration policies. Ashley was a forceful and versatile individual who had been a steamboat clerk on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, a medical student, a newspaper man, a lawyer, a merchant, ten years a member of Congress, and in his later life a railroad promoter and builder. Early in life he became an ardent opponent of slavery; joined the Free Soil and Republican parties; belonged to the radical wing of the Republicans in Congress; and was prominent in the prosecution of the Johnson impeachment charges.

¹⁵ The boundary line as established is less than two miles west of the 117th meridian.

diversified resources . . . such a boundary, we believe, would better suit the people of both sections than any other established further eastward."

Not until April 27th does the *Press* contain definite information regarding the boundary settlement. It prints this information without comment.

News of the impending division of Washington Territory appeared in the *Oregonian* from time to time. On March 10, 1863, a brief note is found stating that on the authority of a telegraphic report received at San Francisco, a bill organizing the Territory of Idaho had been passed. On April 6th, the boundaries of the new territory, according to House Bill 738, are given. This is quoted from the Sacramento *Union*, but the announcement is qualified by stating that the lines herein described may have been changed prior to the final passage of the bill as "we have been previously informed that a change was made while the bill was before the Senate." On April 18th, a correct statement of the boundaries as set forth in the Harding amendment was printed. Another and more detailed account appeared on May 12th with the added promise, "We shall publish the entire organic act as soon as we find room to do so."

Occasionally a critic of the plan of cutting the mining country off by itself had raised his voice. In the *Oregonian* of February 18, 1863, a correspondent writing from the Boise mines declares:

"Ere this, I suppose we are in the territory of Shoshone.¹⁶ This division, to my way of thinking, is a foolish one. If the country were so divided as to embrace all the country west of the Cascades in Oregon, and that lying to the east in Washington Territory, it would be a natural division, and one that would be of some use to the people interested."

The most emphatic note of dissent came from the *Washington Statesman*¹⁷ (Walla Walla) :

¹⁶ The *Washington Standard* of February 21, 1863 states that there were two plans of division: (1) To erect a territory of Idaho to include the Salmon river gold mines; (2) the erection of a territory of Shoshone to include Washington Territory south of the 46th parallel and contiguous portions of Utah, Dakotah, and Nebraska, extending eastward beyond the Rocky Mountains.

I am informed by Mr. Charles F. Curry, clerk of the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives, that the minutes of the committees of the early congresses were seldom preserved and that neither the minutes of the Senate or the House Committees on Territories for this period can be located in the file room.

The *Congressional Globe* shows that on Dec. 22, 1862, Mr. Ashley introduced a bill for the temporary government of the Territory of Idaho. On January 20, 1863, Mr. Ashley asked unanimous consent to report a bill for the temporary government of the Territory of Shoshone in order that it might be printed and recommitted. Mr. Holman objected. The final recommendation of the committee came on February 12 and the name proposed for the territory was Montana. Apparently there was some uncertainty in the committee regarding the name for the territorial infant. It would seem that the plan reported by the House committee corresponded in a general way to the idea described in the *Washington Standard* for the territory of Shoshone.

¹⁷ Quoted in the *Oregonian*, Jan. 22, 1863.

" . . . this division scheme was concocted by a few property holders at Olympia who are interested in keeping the Capital at that place, . . . It is perhaps seconded by a few of the citizens of Lewiston, because the head agitators promise them that the town of Lewiston shall be the seat of government of the new territory. But we fully believe that outside of that town the division question would not, in a fair test, bring fifty votes to its support."

The same paper on March 21, 1863, strongly objected to the plan of division. It expressed fear that the 117th meridian would be adopted as the eastern boundary and deplored it. It said that this was proposed by Dr. A. G. Henry, "that slippery old hypocrite." Henry had gone to Washington, D.C. as the "special emissary of the Olympia clique" that wished to keep Olympia as the capital of Washington Territory. *The Statesman* went on to denounce the Olympia "clameaters."

In this fashion the Idaho country was separated from Washington Territory. The Puget Sound people seemed to have been satisfied. As John Miller Murphy says, the people about Puget Sound did not have much in common with the migratory gold miners of the mountainous interior, and they may well have thought that the division as made was to their advantage. But in Walla Walla, practically the only point of settlement in eastern Washington, there was a different state of feeling. Its business connections and lines of interest were with the mines, and the creation of the new Territory of Idaho left Walla Walla in a condition of unsettled political equilibrium for many years.

Lewiston was the first capital of the new territory. The organic law that created the territory empowered the governor to designate the seat of government, and Lewiston was selected by Governor Wallace. Here the first two meetings of the legislature were held, but in the second the legislature named Boise as the capital, and after a spirited legal contest the government was transferred. Boise Basin was now the most populous of the mining areas, and the mines along the Clearwater and Salmon were becoming of less importance. People with interests in and about Lewiston were naturally aggrieved, but the change was inevitable. The census of 1870 showed that the northern counties had 3178 of the 14,999 people in the territory, and in 1880 there were 6983 in North Idaho as compared with a total population of 32,610. In both periods the North had about 21% of the whole number.

Montana Territory was organized in 1864 and the western

boundary of Montana remains unchanged to this day. The long, narrow extension of Idaho Territory was now upon the map, but the political problems of the Panhandle did not appear at the time. They were to come into existence with the growth of population and the development of new economic and political interests. Montana Territory was organized for the same reasons that had brought about the organization of Idaho the year before. The mines of Last Chance and Alder Gulch were drawing increasing numbers of miners east of the mountains. It was a long and hazardous trip across the ranges to the capital of Idaho, and in winter communications became doubly difficult. The lack of effective government had been shown when vigilance committees were formed to deal with Plummer's gang of bandits and murderers. The Idaho Legislature itself memorialized Congress to organize the new territory, alleging with much force the physical obstacles which made the existing arrangement impracticable. In this memorial it was suggested that the name of the territory should be Jefferson.

It is interesting to note the eastern boundary which the Idaho Legislature wishes to establish for the proposed territory of Jefferson.¹⁸ It was to follow the main range of the Rocky mountains from the forty-second parallel north to the intersection of the one-hundred and thirteenth meridian with the mountain range; the meridian was to be the boundary until it again intersected the main range, and from that point on to the British line, the continental divide was to be followed. Such a boundary had interesting possibilities. It would have included in Idaho the western half of Beaverhead county, and all that part of northwestern Montana which lies in the Columbia watershed. The northern part of Idaho would have been three or four times its present width, and this might have led, at a later date, to a division between the northern and southern portions, thus creating another interior territory west of the Rockies drained by the tributaries of the Columbia.

The production of placer gold quickly came to its peak and as quickly declined. In 1863 it was estimated at \$13,000,000 and in 1869 at \$1,600,000. By way of compensation, it may be noted that by 1867 the output of the quartz mines of southern Idaho was rapidly increasing.¹⁹ More stable conditions prevailed both in mining and in general lines of business, and many people engaged in stock raising, farming, and lumbering. The interests of the people of north-

18 Cong. Globe, 38th Congress, first session, p. 1164.

19 J. Ross Browne: A report upon the mineral resources of the states and territories west of the Rocky mountains, p. 131.

ern Idaho were now the same as those of the adjoining Territory of Washington. Moreover, the Columbia and Snake rivers, which were the principal means of communication before the building of railroads, connected the Lewiston country, at that time the most populous part of North Idaho, closely with Washington and Oregon. On the other hand, the Union Pacific Railroad, which was completed in 1868, tended to draw the commercial interests of southern Idaho in the direction of Utah, Nevada, and California.

Soon we find the legislature of Idaho memorializing Congress regarding a re-arrangement of the territory. This memorial²⁰ was adopted in the session of 1865-66, and it stated that the Salmon river range of mountains made communication with northern Idaho a matter of the greatest difficulty; that by reason of the nature of the wide mountain barrier, it was destined to remain uninhabited; that the interests of the North and the South were dissimilar; and that both areas would be better off if they were separated. The memorial asked that that part of Utah lying north of forty-one degrees and thirty minutes be annexed to Idaho, and that a new territory, to be known as the territory of Columbia, should be formed out of western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington. The boundary proposed on the south would pass along the Salmon river range of mountains; on the east it was nearly the same as that which the Legislature had previously proposed for Jefferson Territory (Montana); on the west, it cut through the Big Bend country not far from the present western side of Lincoln county, Washington.²¹

Early in 1865 a delegation had been sent from Lewiston to Walla Walla to sound out the sentiment of the Walla Walla people on the organization of a new territory out of northern Idaho and eastern Washington. The delegation returned with the counter proposition that northern Idaho should be annexed to Washington. At a Lewiston mass meeting this proposal was unanimously rejected.²² The proposal to erect an interior territory of Columbia, although made with the authority of the Idaho legislature did not attract much

²⁰ Memorial No. 5—Laws of Idaho Territory, third session. (Boise 1866) pp. 293-294.

²¹ The following is the description of the boundaries: Commencing in the middle of the channel of Snake river, where the parallel of forty-four degrees and forty-five minutes north latitude crosses said river; thence east on said parallel to the western line of the territory of Montana; thence westerly on the summit of the Wind River mountains to a point where the meridian of thirty-five degrees and thirty minutes longitude west from Washington crosses said summit; thence north on said meridian of longitude until the same reaches the summit of the Rocky mountains; thence northerly following the summit of the Rocky mountains to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence west along said parallel to the forty-second meridian of longitude west from Washington; thence east on said parallel of latitude to the middle of the channel of Snake river; thence up the middle of the channel of Snake river to the place of beginning.

²² *Washington Democrat* (Olympia) March 4, 1865, (from *Idaho World*, Idaho City).

favorable attention, and by 1867 the annexation of northern Idaho was being considered more favorably in the Lewiston region. The *Idaho Statesman*²³ voiced a note of alarm at this idea and gave reasons for believing that the separation of the northern area would be detrimental to the interests of the territory. On the other hand, the *Owyhee Avalanche*,²⁴ also representing southern Idaho interests, thought that the union of northern Idaho and Washington Territory would be desirable if the people affected considered that they would be benefited.

Considerable attention was given to a meeting²⁵ at Lewiston September 27, 1867, which was addressed by speakers from both northern Idaho and Walla Walla, urging annexation but only as a step to the formation of a new territory to consist of eastern Washington and northern Idaho. This policy was denounced by the *Walla Walla Statesman*²⁶ which declared that the sentiment in the Walla Walla region was in favor of the annexation of the northern Idaho counties for the purpose of increasing the population and wealth of Washington so that it might the sooner become a state in the Union. However, the *Pacific Tribune*²⁷ (Olympia) attacked the movement, the Walla Walla people, and the *Statesman* in an editorial quite in the journalistic fashion of that frontier period:

"The people of Walla Walla are just now suffering their periodical attack of territorial itch, and are scratching furiously for the annexation of Northern Idaho—all of which, a few years ago, was included in the Territory of Washington. Walla Walla wants to be the center of some big thing. She is the 'hub' of bushwhackerdom, Copper-headism, and a very respectable district of agricultural country, but is nevertheless discontented with her lot. . . . The ostensible object of the new annexation scheme is to secure population so that our Territory can become a state; but the real object is to get a slice of country east of Walla Walla large enough to make her the centre and capital of a big Territory. At a meeting recently held to advance this project, the great whale, Dugan,²⁸ the little fish, Langford, and snakes of various sorts and sizes, were in favor of openly avowing their real designs, and notifying the clam-eaters at

²³ *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman*, (Boise) Sept. 21, 1867.

²⁴ *Owyhee Avalanche*, October 19, 1867.

²⁵ The *Weekly Oregonian*, Oct. 12, 1867, has the account taken from the *Lewiston Journal*, October 3.

²⁶ *The Statesman* (Walla Walla), November 15, 1867.

²⁷ *Pacific Tribune* (Olympia), November 16, 1867.

²⁸ Frank F. Dugan was a pioneer Walla Walla lawyer and politician of the self-confident and aggressive type. He was a Democrat and was elected to the territorial legislature in 1863 and 1864. In the 1864 session he was speaker of the House. In the Democratic convention of 1867 he came within two votes of nomination as territorial delegate. In the county election of that year he became prosecuting attorney and in several succeeding years was city attorney of Walla Walla.

once, that the capital could, would, and should be moved to Walla Walla. But the more astute editor²⁹ of the *Statesman* pronounced such a course premature; the whale and the little fish were overruled, and the meeting abandoned the real, and fell back upon the ostensible object, as the base of future action."

The fact is that there was nothing settled at that time either as to territorial boundaries or capitol locations and it is evident that these early commonwealth builders thought realistically and in terms of the material advantages which political projects might bring to their respective localities. As the editor of the *Owyhee Avalanche* sagely observes: "The argument that selfishness and personal ambitions have much to do with it is nothing to us—as they to a certain extent attend all important political changes." Western Washington was intent on retaining that portion of the territory that lay east of the Cascades and was somewhat indifferent about acquiring northern Idaho. The people of northern Idaho wanted most of all to be separated from the rest of the territory; they would have preferred to be part of a new territory in the drainage area of the upper Columbia, but if that proved impracticable, wished to be united to Washington Territory.³⁰ For Walla Walla there were several possibilities: First, that described in the *Statesman's* editorial—the union of North Idaho to Washington for the sake of early statehood; second, an interior territory of which Walla Walla might be the capital—the plan advocated by Dugan and others; third, separation from Washington Territory and union with Oregon,³¹—in this way gain-

29 William H. Newell.

30 "If Congress will not create a new territory including the section of Washington and Idaho east of the Columbia and Okanogan rivers, then annex us to Washington by all means." *Idaho Signal* (Lewiston), November 9, 1872.

31 The Oregon constitutional convention of 1857 designated the Columbia and Snake rivers as the northern boundary of the state but the congressional act of February 14, 1859, which admitted Oregon to the Union, cut the Walla Walla area off and made the forty-sixth parallel the boundary from the Columbia to the Snake river. The Columbia route to the interior brought the Walla Walla region into commercial relations with Portland and western Oregon rather than with the towns of western Washington. For more than twenty years the ultimate disposition of the area between the forty-sixth parallel and Snake river was a matter of some political uncertainty. Governor Mullin of Washington Territory warned the legislative assembly, December 12, 1857, of the Oregon plan to secure the coveted region. The Washington territorial legislature in 1865-66 and again in 1879 memorialized Congress against the dismemberment of Washington Territory. On the other hand, the Oregon state legislature persistently memorialized Congress to separate the Walla Walla country from Washington and to incorporate it with Oregon. There was a memorial to this effect in 1865; one in 1870; one in 1872; and another in 1876. In 1874 the lower house of the Oregon legislature framed a memorial which was not acted on by the Senate.

The early sentiment of the people of Walla Walla probably favored union with Oregon as the majority of the voters in 1865 are said to have signed petitions praying for annexation. A petition to this effect was received by the Oregon legislature in that year. This feeling seems to have declined to a considerable degree but became intensified when Walla Walla county was reduced in size and population in 1875 by the creation of Columbia county. The people of Walla Walla resented this act of the legislature and for some time fervently supported the plan of annexation to Oregon. In a fiery editorial in the *Statesman*, of October 2, 1876, William H. Newell declared: "Our enterprise is repressed and our energies retarded by being tailed on to Puget Sound—a live body linked to a dead carcass. Annexation to Oregon releases our beautiful valley from this deathly embrace and at once secures all the advantages of state

ing the advantage of immediate statehood, but losing the possibility of future political importance, either in a new territorial organization or by balancing Puget Sound against an enlarged eastern Washington.

The official opinion of Washington, as expressed in its territorial legislature, was in favor of annexation, and substantial encouragement was given to the movement through memorials to Congress that were adopted in 1868, 1873, and 1875, praying that Nez Perce, Idaho, and Shoshone, the three northern counties of Idaho Territory, should be attached to Washington. During the next few years public opinion in these counties became nearly unanimous in favor of annexation as the most practicable way out of their difficulties, but in southern Idaho popular sentiment had begun to show the cross currents so marked later on. People hesitated, and wondered if the separation of North Idaho would not be a serious loss.³²

Public opinion and newspaper expressions throughout Washington, for the most part, steadily supported the action of the legislature favoring the reunion of the northern Idaho strip, detached in 1863, to the parent territory. It should be said, however, that feeling on the matter was less intense in Washington. The Idaho people felt acutely the inconvenience, and what seemed to them the injustice, of the situation, while in Washington the population generally was satisfied with the existing situation, but believed that if northern Idaho could be secured, it would be a valuable addition to the territory, and likely to result in statehood at an earlier date. Typical of this attitude is the cautious statement of the Walla Walla Union of November 23, 1872: . . . "We learn that in Stevens and Whitman counties, the members of the Legislatures are pledged to favor the

organization. . . . Annexation will vivify every material interest of our valley and place us on the high road to prosperity."

Senator Kelly and Representative Slater of Oregon introduced bills in the Senate and House in the third session of the forty-second Congress to annex the country south of the Snake river to Oregon and in the forty-fourth Congress, first session, similar bills were introduced by Senator Kelly and Representative Lane. These measures provided that the qualified electors of the area affected should vote on the question of annexation to Oregon and that a majority vote was necessary to bring about the change. In February, 1876, Senator Kelly presented petitions from the Walla Walla county commissioners and from 819 citizens praying for annexation. Congress never acted on the question although the House committee of the forty-fourth Congress reported favorably on the Lane bill. Feeling arising from the question may have influenced the vote in Walla Walla county on the adoption of the 1878 constitution when only 89 votes were cast in its favor while 847 were cast against it.

The majority of the people in Columbia county, having gained county organization, opposed annexation to Oregon and petitioned Congress against it. In this connection it may be noted that the sentiment of northern Idaho was opposed to the separation of Walla Walla from Washington. The *Idaho Signal* of November 22, 1873, declared that if this came about North Idaho would not care to be a part of a diminished eastern Washington.

³² The Idaho legislature memorialized Congress in 1870 for a change in boundaries but "none that would leave the territory less able to maintain the burden of government, interfere with the congressional ratio of representation, or decrease the prospect of arriving at the dignity of statehood." Evidently, this could not be done without taking parts of neighboring territories and adding these to southern Idaho.

annexation of northern Idaho to Washington Territory. We believe that such a movement would result to the benefit of our northern Idaho neighbors, and we cannot see that it would injure Washington Territory, but would add to our importance, and would make Washington a state much sooner."

A meeting which was held at Lewiston, October 30, 1873, and which was supposed to contain representatives from the different sections of northern Idaho strongly supported annexation, and appointed an executive committee to prepare a memorial to Congress. This document³³ is dated November 22, 1873, and under fourteen heads contains an admirable statement, in temperate language, of the topographical obstacles that made intercourse with southern Idaho so difficult; and of their dissimilar interests, while the interests of North Idaho and the adjoining portions of Washington were almost identical and the boundary entirely artificial. It recited the fact that the Northern Pacific Railroad then being built would contribute to draw northern Idaho more closely still to Washington. It asked that all that part of Idaho lying north of the forty-fifth parallel be annexed to Washington. The memorial served to make the feelings of the people of North Idaho more definitely articulate, while encouragement came from over the Washington line in meetings held at Walla Walla, Dayton, and Waitsburg during the month of January, 1874, in which resolutions were adopted endorsing the union of the areas.

The year 1874 was marked by lively controversies. John Hailey,³⁴ the territorial delegate, questioned the representative character of the names appended to the 1873 memorial; declared that a division on the forty-fifth parallel was unfair to southern Idaho; and argued that no arrangement had been suggested to take care of the territorial debt. On these points, numerous, fervid, and sarcastic rejoinders appeared.

Although Congress took no action, the movement gained, rather than lost, and petitions praying for annexation to Washington were presented in 1875 and 1877. An instructive example of the close connection between political and economic considerations was furnished on January 22, 1878, when Stephen S. Fenn, Idaho's delegate in Congress, presented two petitions from Nez Perce, Idaho, and Shoshone counties. One was signed by 999 residents praying Con-

³³ Most readily found in the *History North Idaho*, published by the Western Historical Publishing Company, p. 72.

³⁴ John Hailey (Dem.) was elected territorial delegate in 1872; Stephen S. Fenn (Dem.) in 1874 and 1876; George Ainslie (Dem.) in 1878 and 1880; T. F. Singiser (Rep.) in 1882; John Hailey (Dem.) in 1884; F. T. Dubois (Rep.) in 1886 and 1888.

gress for the improvement of the Snake and Clearwater rivers in Washington and Idaho, while the other was signed by 1065, and asked annexation of the same counties to Washington. A new description of the territory to be detached is here encountered. It is described as Nez Perce county and all that part of Idaho attached to that county for judicial purposes.

The election of Stephen S. Fenn in 1876 was regarded by the North Idaho people as a victory for the cause of separation, since Fenn was regarded as a friend of the movement, while his opponent, Bennet, had declared himself opposed. The Lewiston *Teller*, the aggressive organ of annexation, has frequent allusions in the following years to the Fenn-Bennet contest as indicative of the convictions of the people of the northern counties at the time.

The Walla Walla convention was held in 1878 to frame a constitution for what its proponents hoped would be the State of Washington. They were unduly optimistic and anticipated the admission of Washington into the Union by eleven years. In the expectation that the Idaho Panhandle would be joined with the State of Washington a representative of the northern counties of Idaho was admitted as a delegate without a vote but with all the privileges of debate. Alonzo Leland,³⁵ of Lewiston, was the Idaho delegate. When submitted to the voters for ratification, the constitution was approved in Washington by 6462 to 3231, and in northern Idaho by 742 to 28. This bore out the repeated assertions of the newspapers and petitions, that the people were virtually all in favor of separa-

35 Alonzo Leland is a central figure in the annexation movement and prominent in Lewiston and North Idaho affairs from about 1862 till his death, October 24, 1891. He was born in Vermont in 1818, became a carpenter and teacher, and graduated from Brown University in 1843. He went to California in 1849 and from there to Oregon in 1850 where he was first employed as a civil engineer. He engaged in newspaper work in Portland as an editor and publisher, but in 1861 joined the rush to the gold fields of Florence. He acquired the *Lewiston Journal* in 1867 and seems to have had some interest with his son in the *Idaho Signal* which succeeded the *Journal*. In 1874 he founded the *Lewiston Teller* and published it until its sale in 1890 to C. A. Foresman. Leland was also admitted to the bar and practiced law. His varied career was typical of the energetic and adaptable westerner. When railroads came to the Northwest, Leland believed that a transcontinental line coming down the Clearwater from Montana would pass through Lewiston. In this he was disappointed, as he was also in his hope that North Idaho would be united to Washington. In the *Teller* he gave the annexation movement his unstinted support year after year. Its pages contain a mine of information on the subject.

In a letter to the writer dated January 17, 1930, ex-Senator Dubois says, "I regard Alonzo Leland as the most earnest, conscientious and constant worker for many years in this movement. He was actuated by the highest motives, and not at all by personal considerations. Nearly every conspicuous man in every walk of life in north Idaho was in favor of this separation. I think I pointed out in my articles that they were not to be criticized for this, and at the time they were urging the separation it really would have been to the advantage of all north Idaho. Statehood was not even dreamed of during this agitation. I think I was the first public man who visioned statehood, and this made me so determined against the separation, for if the separation had taken place south Idaho would probably have been annexed to Nevada and Idaho wiped out."

The *Teller* had no rival until 1880 when the *Nez Perce News* was established at Lewiston. A. F. Parker bought the *News* in 1881 and it became the organ of the anti-annexationists. Parker was an aggressive champion of the territorial unity of Idaho. Parker later published the *Coeur d'Alene Eagle* and the *Idaho County Free Press*. He died January 3, 1930.

tion from Idaho. The dividing line in the Walla Walla constitution was the forty-fifth parallel from the Snake river to its intersection with the meridian thirty-fifth and thirty minutes west from Washington, and thence on this meridian to the summit of the Bitterroot range.

Before the Walla Walla convention had met, but after the people had approved and the legislature had authorized the holding of the convention, Orange Jacobs, then congressional delegate from Washington, introduced in the House of Representatives an enabling act to admit Washington to the Union. In this bill, the northern counties of Idaho are to be joined to Washington.³⁶ Jacobs introduced the bill December 10, 1877; it was referred to the Committee on Territories and no further action was taken during that Congress. It is doubtful if Washington had sufficient population to justify admission, but political strategy dictated its exclusion. Washington was Republican and the Democratic party controlled at least one of the branches of government until 1889.

Thomas H. Brents succeeded Orange Jacobs as delegate from Washington Territory; he was elected in 1878 and served three successive terms. In each Congress, the forty-sixth, forty-seventh and forty-eighth, he introduced bills to make Washington Territory a state. All these bills proposed the inclusion of the northern counties of Idaho, and the first two (H.B. 1290, 46th Congress, and H.B. 1925, 47th Congress) followed the line of division proposed in the Walla Walla convention. The bill introduced in the forty-eighth Congress (H.B. 2941) had the Salmon River as the boundary line.³⁷ The only bill of the three reported out of Committee was H.B. 1925 in the forty-seventh Congress, and this the Committee amended by cutting the proposed state down to its territorial limits and excluding the three Idaho counties. Evidently the Committee on Territories was either indifferent or hostile to the wishes of the people of North Idaho.³⁸

But the inhabitants of the Panhandle were more determined

³⁶ That part of the boundary is described as follows: From the intersection of the forty-sixth parallel with the Snake River; "thence up the middle of the main channel of the Snake river to the boundary line between the counties of Idaho and Ada in the Territory of Idaho; thence southeasterly along said boundary line to the northwest corner of Boise county; thence easterly along the south line of said Idaho county to the southeast corner thereof; thence north along the east line of said county of Idaho to the Bitter Root mountains."

³⁷ Thence southerly from the intersection of the forty-sixth parallel with the middle channel of Snake river) along said channel of Snake river to a point opposite the mouth of Salmon river; thence up along the middle of the main channel of said river to a point opposite the mouth of Horse Creek; thence up the middle of the main channel of said stream to its source; thence to the nearest point of the crest of the Bitter Root range of mountains.

³⁸ Among the reasons given by the committee were: (a) Washington would become too large; (b) Idaho would be "Mormonized"; (c) county and legislative machinery would be demoralized.

than ever in urging the change. The question was submitted to the voters in 1880 and only two ballots were cast against it in Nez Perce county, and not one in Shoshone. Senator Dolphe declared before the Senate,³⁹ April 1, 1886, that in 1880 the vote in northern Idaho in favor of annexation was 1216 for and 7 against. New Political tactics now came into use; at Lewiston, September 28, 1880,⁴⁰ a meeting of citizens of all parties unanimously agreed to support no man as delegate to Congress who would not publicly pledge himself to work for annexation, and moreover, the meeting offered to support the removal of the capital from Boise to some place in south-eastern Idaho in return for the support, from that section, of the annexation of northern Idaho to Washington. Irrespective of party lines they would work unitedly for separation from southern Idaho with which, as one Washington newspaper⁴¹ remarked, they had "no business relations except the payment of taxes and no social relations beyond the biennial visits made by members of the legislature and the occasional trips of sheriffs with prisoners." In a territory rather closely divided politically, 20% of the voters in the North could swing elections. This political strategy had been editorially outlined by Leland in the *Teller* on April 9, 1880. The first trial of the plan came in November 1880 when ex-Governor Brayman, who had been chosen to represent the North Idaho separationists, received 904 votes in the northern counties to 237 for Ainslie, the regular Democratic candidate, and 34 for Smith, the Republican. The people in northern Idaho were elated and further encouragement was given them when the lower house of the territorial legislature by a vote of 15 to 8 passed in the following session (1881) a memorial asking for the separation of the area in question. This was brought about by a combination between the representatives of northern and southeastern Idaho. A good description of the working of these non-partisan methods is given in a speech⁴² in the House of Representatives by John Hailey, Idaho's delegate in the forty-ninth Congress:

(To be continued)

³⁹ 50th Congress, 1st Session, Serial no. 2520, p. 21.

⁴⁰ *The Spokane Times*, October 9, 1880, p. 3, column 5.

⁴¹ *Palouse Gazette*, November 29, 1878.

⁴² *Congressional Record*, forty-ninth Congress, first session, p. 1707.

DOCUMENTS

Our First Official Horticulturist

The Wilkes Exploration Expedition surveyed the natural resources of this region in 1841, five years before our Uncle Sam took sole possession by right of exploration and settlement. This expedition offered incomparable opportunity to several aspiring scientists, no one of whom was more proficient than Brackenridge, horticulturist and assistant botanist, soon to be presented to readers of the *Quarterly* as a diarist of two exploring trips made in what is now Washington State, in which explorations he played a scientist's part.

His scientific masterpiece, *Botany Cryptogamia* (Vol. XVI of the publications of the Wilkes Expedition), published in 1855, is usually referred to as his work on ferns. How appropriate that his name was *Brackenridge*!

William Dunlop Brackenridge was born June 10, 1810, near Ayr, Scotland. After ten years of thorough education in his native city, in which training botany was the strongest lure, he was at the early age of sixteen given charge of Sir John Maxwell's pleasure grounds at Springkell. A year later he became head gardener to Dr. Neil at Edinburgh.

After four years in Edinburgh he was employed by Count Ebors of Poland to landscape his large estate. Following this he spent three years under Professor Friedrick Otto in charge of a department of the Berlin Botanical Gardens. From here he sailed for America. He landed in Philadelphia and immediately found employment as foreman with Robert Buist, a famous nurseryman. His employer, recognizing his abilities, recommended him to the Secretary of the Navy as botanist to accompany Wilkes. As Dr. Charles Pickering had already been employed as naturalist, Brackenridge was made assistant and designated horticulturist. The expedition sailed in August of that year, 1838.

The major events of that four-year cruise are fairly well known; a host of minor incidents appear in his forthcoming diary. His collection of specimens represented some ten thousand species. Living plants and seeds likewise were not neglected. These, with substantial contributions from Dr. Pickering and others, became the nucleus of the National Herbarium. Returned to Washington, he was put in charge of the living plants, which were in 1850 removed to the new Botanical Gardens at the foot of the Capitol. Here many

of them may still be seen. He served for some years as Superintendent of Public Grounds in Washington.

At the same time he was assigned to the preparation of the report on the cryptogamia of the expedition. In this work Asa Gray helped him with the Latin nomenclature. The volume was begun in 1846 and was ready in 1848. Governmental delay of six years gave him opportunity to revise; he had been handicapped by lack of a good botanical library in Washington and by want of a collection of authenticated species of exotic ferns. When at last the monumental work was published, only a few sample copies of the quarto volume and fewer of the magnificent folio of plates had been finished and issued before the fire of 1856 destroyed plates, books, folios, even the manuscript. Today his book remains, according to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "the rarest of all modern botanical monographs of value." Because of this same destructive fire, also, his work and name enter but slightly into the scientific nomenclature of the flora of our state.

In 1843 Brackenridge had married Miss Isabella Bell of Jedburgh, Scotland. In 1854 he moved to a small estate near Baltimore, where he established a florist and nursery business. About 1876 his son Archibald took over the florist trade, the elder Brackenridge retaining the nursery. For many years Brackenridge was horticultural editor of the *American Farmer*. He was the moving spirit in the Maryland Horticultural Society. He died suddenly on February 3, 1893, at his residence in Govantown, near Baltimore.

One of his foremost discoveries was the Darlingtonia, or California pitcher plant, made while the overland party from Puget Sound to San Francisco was in northern California. An alarm of Indians had caused the party to seek cover; but Brackenridge, undismayed by the alarm, stayed behind till he could gather the singular plant which had just attracted his attention.

Mr. Brackenridge was a six-footer, with broad shoulders and broad forehead. He was rugged in speech, sometimes blunt and impetuous; but at heart he was kind and sensitive. He was ever a student, loving the classics equally well with science. The *Florist Exchange* speaks of his "surreptitious thoroughness." He contributed to professional periodicals throughout a period of nearly fifty years, "preaching the gospel of beauty, taste, and fitness." For his seventy-fifth birthday, June 10, 1885, he had been presented by intimate friends with a "diploma," the following engrossed on parchment:

"Salutation, congratulation, cordial wishes for extended years, added honors, continued usefulness.

Accomplished gardener, tried citizen, valued friend, true man.

Health, happiness, prosperity."

While I was preparing this there came from the press Vol. II of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. I was tempted to let the matter rest with Donald Culross Peattie's excellent account contained therein; but as I had found a few authorities whom he did not consult, and as the matter needed to be shaped especially for the *Quarterly's needs*, I proceeded to boil down the large amount of my material into the foregoing. The chief articles drawn upon have been the following: *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, article by Peattie under Brackenridge, William D.; *Journal N.Y. Botanical Garden*, XX, 117-24, article by Barnhart; *American Florist*, Feb. 9, 1893; *The Florist Exchange*, New York, Feb. 11, 1893; *Mehans Monthly*, March, 1893; *The Florist Exchange*, April 1, 1893; *The Gardener's Monthly*, XXVI: 375-6; Preface to *Botany Cryptogamia*, Vol. XVI of the publication of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition; Parts of his unpublished Diary, deposited with the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

One problem I have not been able to solve. His name is William Dunlop Brackenridge. Then why does the Wilkes *Narrative* speak of him throughout its five volumes as J. D. Brackenridge? His granddaughter, Miss Isabella T. Renwick of Baltimore, assures me that in the official document of appointment as horticulturist the initials are W. D., and that all of Captain Wilke's letters to him are addressed to W. D. The discrepancy probably reveals only another example of Captain Wilkes's numerous bobbles.]—O.B.S.

The Brackenridge Journal for Oregon Territory

(Introduction and notes by O. B. Sperlin)

The Manuscript.—The following diary is printed from a photostat copy of small parts of a manuscript, the whole of which is in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, entitled "Remarks and Opinions by W. D. Brackenridge." The copy was made by the Washington State Historical Society, through Secretary W. P. Bonney, Tacoma. Mrs. Henry W. Patton of Hoquiam first called the attention of the Society to the existence of the manuscript. The parts of the photostat copy include the title page; one page narrating the arrival of the Wilkes Expedition in Australia, February, 1840; one page entitled "Gardeners Island;" forty pages entitled "Sandwich Islands" (Sept. 24, 1840—Feb. 29 [Sic!], 1841); one page entitled "Northwest Coast of America"; three pages entitled "Puget Sound"; twenty-seven pages entitled "Inland Expedition"; nine pages entitled "Chekelis Route"; one page entitled "Fort Van-

couver"; two pages entitled "Willamette"; six entitled "Route to California"; and one page entitled "California—Shasta." The pages are not numbered, but there are apparent gaps between parts till "Oregon Territory" is reached, when the gaps cease till the close of the photostat copy with "Shasta." The part to be printed in the *Quarterly*, beginning with the arrival off the Columbia and closing with "Shasta", are therefore continuous.

Brackenridge, in common with all members of the expedition, turned in to Captain Wilkes his journal before leaving ship in 1842. When later he was assigned to the task of preparing the volume on ferns, he probably made this copy, interpolating a few "remarks", such as the one that seems to have been engendered by something that came out at the court-martial trial of Wilkes. (See June 8 entry).

The Editing.—This Brackenridge record is in clear handwriting, with no parts illegible. Measured by the standards of 1840, the author's composition reveals a well educated man. It has been a pleasure to follow both his narrative and his opinions. In addition to minor corrections shown in the text, I have taken the liberty to change regularly his possessive pronoun form *there* to *their*, and his *theese* and *whose* to *these* and *whose*. His periods, all made like commas, and his commas, blending into dashes, I have also rectified for the convenience of the reader. I have retained his capitalization, though one can not always be sure of his intention. His abbreviations I have also retained, within the limits fixed by present day type-setting. I have furnished notes on botanical points only where ready reference might not help the inquiring reader.

Citations to the *Narrative* of the Expedition are to Vol. IV of the six volume edition of 1845. Citations to Pickering are made very convenient to follow through Mr. J. Neilson Barry's reprint (*Quarterly*, XX, 1) of the pages from *The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution*. The page citations to the Wilkes *Diary* are to Prof. Edmond S. Meany's reprint from the *Quarterly*, 1825-6. Further description of the five fur-trade forts visited can be found in my "Washington Forts of the Fur Trade Regime," *Quarterly*, VIII: 102-114. The botanical notes are chiefly based upon Piper's *Flora of Washington*, Howell's *Flora of Northwest America*, Piper and Beattie's *Flora of South Eastern Washington and Adjacent Idaho*, Gray, Brewer, and Watson's *Botany*, Vols. I and II, Gray's *Manual*, and Frye and Rigg's *Flora of the Northwest*. Common names are taken especially from the last mentioned work.

Relation to the Wilkes Narrative.—Prof. Edmond S. Meany, in *Mount Rainier, a Record of Exploration*, p. 13, attributes the authorship of Chapters XII and XIII in Vol. IV of the *Narrative* to Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson, U.S.N. He awards this honor to Johnson notwithstanding the fact that first person in these chapters, as throughout the *Narrative*, always refer to Wilkes, while Johnson is referred to always in third person. Professor Meany no doubt considered the *substance* Johnson, though the *form* was partly Wilkes. The publication of the Brackenridge journal shows that only a minor quantity of the substance was Johnson, the major quantity being Brackenridge and Pickering.

Wilkes had Brackenridge's journal before him when he wrote the *Narrative*. He also had his own diary and similar records by all of the scientific men and leaders of parties for the entire four-year cruise. For Chapters XII and XIII detailing the Inland Expedition he depended upon journals kept by Johnson, Pickering, and Brackenridge, possibly others. He drew heavily upon Brackenridge's record, but left enough unpublished to help us materially in reconstructing that era of fur-trade posts, Indians, missionaries, and early agriculturists.

Acknowledgments.—To Mrs. Henry W. Patton of Hoquiam, who first informed us of the manuscript; to the Maryland Historical Society and the Washington State Historical Society for permission to print; to Miss Isabella T. Renwick, granddaughter of Brackenridge—to these individuals and institutions hearty thanks are due. Mr. L. V. McWhorter of Yakima, and his friend, Captain Goudy, a Yakima Indian, have helped with matters pertaining to the trail from Naches Pass to Wenatchee. Last but most materially and directly, Professor George B. Rigg, of the University of Washington, gave me many and extremely valuable hints in solving knotty problems of botanical nomenclature.

Remarks and Opinions by W. D. Brackenridge

Oregon Territory—North West Coast of America
April 28th 1841.

After a rough passage, from the Sandwich Islands,¹ we this day made land, which prooved to be Cape Dissapointment, which forms the north point at the entrance to the Columbia River; on nearing which the sea broke so furiously accros its mouth on the Sand bar,²

¹ *Sandwich Islands, Hawaiian Islands.*

² *sand bar.* The *Narrative*, p. 293, says at this point: "Mere description can give little idea of the terror of the bar of the Columbia,...one of the most frightful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor."

that Capt. Wilkes deemed it imprudent to run the Ship in, & so put about and bore away towards Puget Sound.

29th. The following day the weather being very foggy the Porpoise & [the] Vincennes came very near getting on shore³ near Quean Isle Rocks,⁴ but by a dexterous manouver both were enabled to *claw off*, as it is called by seamen.

30th. On the 30th the Vincennes ran inside of one⁵ of the Flattery Rocks which form the South Cape at the entrance to the Straits of *Juan de Fuca*, up which we beat all night without coming to anchor.

May 1st. Weather Calm, with Rain but altogether pleasant. The dark green Pine forest, which all along lined the banks of the Straits and extended back inland as far as the eye could reach, reminded me of European scenery, but betokened any thing but a rich soil. A few deciduous Trees (now green) was observed thinly scattered along the margin of the Forest, among the Pines.

2nd. Shaved Dungeness⁶ point very close and on the 2nd ran into Port Discovery; at the entrance to which is protection Island⁷ beautifully situated for erecting a fort to command the passage into the Port, where a hundred sail when once fairly in, could lay safe at anchor during any gale of wind, there being abundance of water close into the Pine covered banks.

3rd. On the 3rd at noon Dr. P.⁸ myself and several Carpenters going on shore to cut wood,⁹ landed opposite the Ship, and nevertheless that the natives were pretty numerous about the bay, and to all appearances friendly disposed, but owing to orders rec'd.¹⁰ on board from the Command relating to our bearing towards them, we did not deem it prudent to ramble far from the Bay, but kept off and on along the woody banks till sundown, when we returned on board. I this day for the first time saw *Mahonia fascicularis*¹¹

³ on shore. "This was one of the many hair-breadth escapes from wreck, incident to this cruise." *Narrative*, p. 295. Wilkes attributes escape to "the good qualities of the vessels" and to "the conduct of the officers and crew."

⁴ Quean Isle. The *Narrative* (p. 295) says that the place was "Point Grenville of Vancouver, and Destruction Isle." As these places are thirty miles apart, Wilkes is far from clear. Probably *Quean Isle* is Brackenridge's rendering of *Queenhithe*, which name Meares put on the old maps, thinking it the native name for the region about Destruction Island.

⁵ one of the Flattery rocks. Tatoosh Island.

⁶ Dungeness. "New Dungeness pt." in the Wilkes *Diary*, p. 11.

⁷ protection Island. "There never was an island that better deserved its name than that of Protection Island." Wilkes, *Diary*, p. 12.

⁸ Dr. P. Dr. Charles Pickering, naturalist of the expedition.

⁹ cut wood. "Carpenters were sent on shore to cut some small spars for our boats. All the navies of the world might be furnished with spars here." Wilkes, *Diary*, p. 13.

¹⁰ orders rec'd. Wilkes was "apprehensive of difficulties similar to those met with in the Feejee Group." His "General Order" is printed, p. 301 of the *Narrative*.

¹¹ *Mahonia fascicularis*. In Brackenridge's day this name was applied to all Oregon grape species from Alaska to Mexico. It is now limited to a Mexican species. *Mahonia* is an old synonym for *Berberis*. One of the particular species here is *Berberis nervosa*, the dull Oregon grape; the other is

& Aquifolia,¹² in their native habitat. *Calypso borealis*¹³ was also very common in shady woods; with many more interesting Plants.

May 4th. This day I alone landed at the same place I did yesterday, went along the beach to a native camp; the males appeared rather morose in their disposition, & very much afraid for the safety of their females. The[y] belong to what is called the Classet¹⁴ Tribe of Indians & have had dealings with American Captains, from the fact of them uttering the words "Boston Ship Tomson."¹⁵ All the males carried knives under their blanket or skin, some of which the[y] had made themselves from Iron hoops, but the most had been procured from the H.B. Co.¹⁶ for skins?—for a small bit of Tobacco I got several of them to go with me and collect shells and plants. The most interesting of the latter to me were *Ribes sanguineum*,¹⁷ another species with small scarlet flos: somewhat like *R. speccosa*, 2 sp: of the *Bartsia*,¹⁸ *Goodeyra* [*Goodyera*],¹⁹ *Abies Douglasii*,²⁰ with two other Spruces, one of which resembles the Hemlock spruce of the States. A few Maples were found on the open banks, the trunks of which are too small to proove of much consequence to settlers.

5th. Near the entrance to this bay on both sides are several open verdent banks affording a rich harvest to the Botanist; I have nowhere been so pleased with the beauty and variety of Flora, as here presented itself. *Dodecatheons*,²¹ *Scilla*²² (the Cammass of the Natives), *Viola*,²³ *Leptosiphon*, *Trifolium*, *Collinsia*,²⁴ *Claytonia*,²⁵ *Geum*, *Stellaria*,²⁶ *Fritillaria*,²⁷ *Erothronium*,²⁸ *Vicia*,²⁹ &c &c. vied with each other in beauty, & we arrived just in season to see the

12 *Mahonia Aquifolia*, or *Berberis aquifolium*, the shining Oregon grape.

13 *Calypso borealis* is now classified as *Cytherea bulbosa*.

14 Classet. The Narrative gives Clal[!]jam, and uses Classet for the natives seen three days previously.

15 *Boston Ship Thomson*. "The first inquiry was, whether we were Boston or King George's ships, by which terms they distinguish American and English." Narrative, p. 297. Could the "Thomson" be from *Tonquin*, the name of Astor's ship destroyed near Nootka in 1811?

16 H.B.Co. Hudson's Bay Company.

17 *Ribes sanguineum*. The species should be designated *sanguineum*; it is the red-flowered currant.

18 *Bartsia*. No species is known for this region. But the Indian paintbrush (*Castilleja*) was formerly classified as *Bartsia*.

19 *Goodyera menziesii*, rattlesnake plantain. Piper classifies it as *Peramium decipiens*; Gray has it *Epipactis decipiens*.

20 *Abies Douglasii*. The Douglas fir is now classified as *Pseudotsuga taxifolia*, the first part of which means *false hemlock*. It is not a spruce, as Brackenridge implies; though it was formerly thought to be.

21 *Dodecatheons*, shooting stars.

22 *Scilla*. *Camassia* or *Quamasia* is now the name of the genus.

23 *Leptosiphon*. Piper does not give this genus. Howell gives it as a sub-classification under *Linanthus*; Gray treats about the same species under *Gilia*. It is a member of the phlox family. The plant here is probably *Gilia bicolor* (*Leptosiphon bicolor* or *Linanthus bicolor* in other nomenclatures).

24 *Collinsia*, blue lips.

25 *Claytonia*, spring beauty.

26 *Stellaria*, chick weed.

27 *Fritillaria*, rice root.

28 *Erothronium*, properly *Erythronium*, dog-tooth violet.

29 *Vicia*, vetch.

spring flowers in all their splendour. The *soil* on these banks consists of a light brown *Loam*, but the general character of the *Soil* around Port Discovery is a thin black vegetable earth with a sub-soil of sand and gravel.

6th. Both the Brig Porpoise, & Vincennes, weighed and came too again at Port Townsend; opposite where we lay was a large open Table land free of timber, which terminated towards the beach in a steep bluff or bank; in the vicinity of this is abundance of fresh water. This locality appeared to me to offer every advantage as a site for a Town or Settlement.³⁰

7th. Dr. Pickering and my self went on to this Table land in the early part of the forenoon, but were soon recalled by a signal Gun from the Ship, which was getting under weigh.

8th. Did not go on shore today; in the afternoon the vessels went up the Sound a considerable distance farther.—

Oregon Territory—Puget Sound

May 9th. Our vessels entered this day what is called Puget Sound (*proper*)³¹ I went on shore for a short time, found a few plants in the dense Spruce forests,³² which prevail up as far as we had gone.—

10th. Went a collecting in Co. with Dr. P. and Mr. Heath,³³ Mate of the H.B. Cos Steam Boat Beaver, who had arrived from Nesqually to pilot us up thither.

11th. On the early part of the following day both vessels proceeded up the Sound and brot. too in Nesqually Harbour a little before sun down, previous to which we were visited by Capt. McNeil³⁴ of S.B. Beaver, & Mr. Anderson³⁵ Superintendent at Fort.

12th. Remained all day on board Ship.

13th. Fort Nesqually³⁶ lays inland a good half mile from the Bay on the plains or margin of the extensive prairies which stretch back into the interior 15 or 20 miles. Right above the quay or landing place is a high bank along the face of which a good road has

³⁰ *Seattlement.* "Upwards of 1000 acres all ready for the plough. The soil is a light sandy loam but seems exceedingly productive. The grass was several inches high and covered with wild flowers and wild strawberry plants in blossom." Wilkes, *Diary*, p. 14.

³¹ *proper.* Wilkes (*Narrative*, 304) does not give up the term *Admiralty Inlet* till he reaches Sunset Beach on the 10th, when he writes: "taking the passage to the right of Vashon Island, and finally towards evening anchored just below the narrows leading into Puget Sound." Wilkes thus follows Vancouver in putting Puget Sound south of the Narrows at Tacoma. Brackenridge, probably following the pilot Heath, anticipates present-day maps.

³² *Spruce forests.* Douglas fir forests.

³³ *Mr. Heath.* First officer of the *Beaver*. He had arrived two days previously. "Pilot's Cove" commemorates the place of his arrival.

³⁴ *McNeil.* William Henry McNeill, for whom McNeil Island was named.

³⁵ *Anderson.* Alexander Caulfield, for whom Anderson Island was named.

³⁶ *Nesqually.* Site of the present Dupont Powder Works. Nisqually House was later built inland nearly two miles from the fort. Brackenridge's spelling was widely used until rather recently.

been formed through the bush towards the Fort; the Company has got a Dairy about three miles out from the Fort; in the way of which I accidentally bent my way through the bush with my collecting case where I fell in with a Sandwich Islander busy plowing land for Potatoes. In the same field, a quantity of Peas, Oats, & Wheat looked well. The soil was a light brown earth, intermixed with a goodly portion of gravel and stones. Such soil requires a great deal of rain during the summer to bring a crop of Grain to perfection. The plains were at this season one complete sheet of flowers, principally of the following genera: Ranunculus, Scilla (Cammass), Bartsia, Balsamor[th]izia (Oregon Sun flower), Lupinus, Collinsia, with many other small annuals. These plains are intersected with and broken in upon by belts or clumps of Spruce trees, with a dense under gro[w]th of Hazel, *Cornus*,³⁷ *Spiraea*, and *Prunus*,³⁸ with a few scattered Oaks which stud the plains. Near several of the fresh water lakes I observed two kinds of Ash,³⁹ but of to[o] diminutive a gro[w]th to be of any use as timber. Solitary examples of a Yew was also found in Creeks about the Bay, a wood which the Natives prefer for making their Bows of. Large examples of *Arbutus procera*⁴⁰ abound on the high banks opposite where our ships lay.

May 14th. Rec'd. orders⁴¹ today to prepare for an inland excursion to be absent from the Ship two months. in the afternoon made an excursion again out on the plains, fell in with two species of *Populus*, a Birch, and an *Arbutus*, perhaps *A. tomentosa*,⁴² *Arbutus Uva-ursi*,⁴³ and a small *Ledum*,⁴⁴ the latter rare, & the former abundant in boggy places. A *Linnaea*⁴⁵ and an *Asarum*⁴⁶ was very common in shady woods.—

15th. Remained on board all day put[t]ing the Botanical col-

37 *Cornus*, dogwood.

38 *Prunus*. The three native varieties are the wild plum, the wild cherry, and the chokecherry.

39 two kinds of Ash. Only one species, *Fraxinus oregana riparia*, is reported for Washington. The mountain ash would hardly be possible at this location.

40 *Arbutus procera*. *Arbutus menziesii*, the madrona tree. *Arbutus procera* is given as a synonym in Gray, Brewer, and Watson, vol. I, p. 452.

41 rec'd. orders. Wilkes records (*Diary*, p. 18) that such orders were given to "Mr. Johnstown" on the 12th, or two days previously, and that Johnson spent the 13th trying to buy horses. The *Narrative*, however, (Appendix XII), dates the order itself on the 13th.

42 *Arbutus tomentosa*, rather *Arctostaphylas tomentosa*. It is our manzanita.

43 *Arbutus uva-ursi*, rather *Arctostaphylas uva-ursi*. It is our kinnikinnick. It is not found in boggy places; rather on dry, gravelly soil.

44 *Ledum*. Labrador tea, *Ledum groenlandicum*, is, on the other hand, commonly found in boggy places.

45 *A Linnaea*. Species *americana* (twin flower) is the only one known in the Northwest.

46 *Asarum*. Either wild ginger or mottled wild ginger.

lections in order and transferred the same by *order*⁴⁷ over to Mr. Jont. Dyes⁴⁸ to look after.

16th. Sunday—took a stroll out on the plains three miles beyond Fort.

17th. Learned today that the inland party was to consist of the following individuals, viz: Lt. Johnson⁴⁹ (to have charge of party), Dr. Pickering, Mr. T. Waldron,⁵⁰ myself, Sergt. Stearns,⁵¹ Pier[r]e Charles⁵²—as Guide, *Peter Pain*⁵³—as Interpreter, Henery Walton⁵⁴—to act as Cook, with natives to assist us in crossing the Mountains. Getting provisions & other necessaries ready kept us all busy, & at 4 in the afternoon the party was ordered⁵⁵ to leave the Ship, which we all did, leaving a good many of our things on board. Our tents were pitched for the night outside the Fort, & our luggage piled up in a heap; which obliged us to stand watch, when we could just as easy have placed the whole inside the Fort,—an offer which was made us by Mr. Anderson, but no—we must stand guard, while we could have reposed. Mr. Johnson arranged the watch as follows: He was to keep what he termed a standing watch, viz. from sundown to 9 P.M. & then from 5 A.M., the remainder of the Night to be devided into 4 watches, to be kept by Dr. Pickering, Mr. Waldron, Sergt. Stearns, & myself; which was actually performed.—

18. All hands belonging to the party busy repairing⁵⁶ saddles, with the additional aid of the sail makers mate from the Ship. About

47 *by order*. Piper reports (Introduction, p. 15) as follows on the condition of the Wilkes collection in Washington, D.C.: "Unfortunately the original labels of the specimens seem in some way to have become intermixed, with the result that a good many plants confined to eastern Washington bear such labels as 'Port Discovery' and 'Nisqually,' while other species confined to western Washington are labeled 'Walla Walla' or 'North Fork of the Columbia.' On some sheets eastern and western Washington species are mixed, and mounted over a single label." Brackenridge, by underlining this phrase, seems to hint that he suspected that all was not "shipshape" after the collections had left his hands.

48 *Dyes*. John W. W. Dyes, assistant taxidermist.

49 *Lt. Johnson*. Robert E. Johnson.

50 *T. Waldron*. T. W. Waldron; not to be confused with R. R. Waldron, the purser, who at the same time went with Wilkes on an overland trip to the Columbia.

51 *Sergt. Stearns*. Simon Sterns, who served the entire cruise.

52 *Pier[r]e Charles*. Pierre Charles, a French Canadian who was long prominent in the *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House*.

53 *Peter Pain*. Peter Bercier, "who spoke English, and all the languages of the country," *Narrative*, p. 419. Brackenridge didn't hold Peter in high esteem; hence, probably, the *Pain*.

54 *Henery Walton*. In the *List of Officers and Men* he is Henry Waltham; in Wilkes's *Orders to Johnson* he is Henry Walthrown.

55 *was ordered*. Two days previously (May 15, *Diary*, p. 20) Wilkes says, "gave Lt. Johnson notice he must start on Monday by 2 o'clock." Evidently Johnson did not keep all members of his prospective party informed of such notices. Of the May 17 episode Wilkes says, "Got Lt. Johnson off on shore and encamped that he might see his traps and equipment all[il] together." *Diary*, p. 20.

56 *repairing*. Wilkes (*Diary*, p. 10) tells a different story. "Lt. Johnson not off yet fussing fidgeting and delaying our time no crupers, then no pack saddles, then no girths all his time being wasted bargaining for horses. I think his coadjutor Mr. I. [T.?] W. Waldron would have attended to much better than he did." In the *Narrative*, however, Wilkes gives Lieut. John a very high rating just here. "I must do justice to the exertions of this officer in getting ready for his journey, which he accomplished in less time than I anticipated, as the delays incident to setting out on a novel expedition, and one believed by most persons to be scarcely practicable in the summer season, are great and tantalizing...." p. 418.

mid-day Captain Wilkes & party started⁵⁷ on horse back for the Columbia River, taking with them such a number⁵⁸ of Horses, that we could not get our compliment⁵⁹ completed.⁶⁰

19th. With what horses we had [we] managed to get our luggage out from the Fort about 2½ Miles, where we encamped near the margin of a lake⁶¹ where several Horses were purchased of Natives. Our guide has also now arrived from the Coulitz, so that we look fair for a start.

Oregon Territory—Inland Expedition

May 20th. This morning was very cloudy, & during the forenoon we were visited by several of our officers from the Ship & Mr. Anderson. The encampment broke up at noon, & remooved about 5 miles farther along the plain in the direction of Mount Ra[i]nier; where we found a small stream⁶² of water & encapt. close by it for the night. Before leaving this camp a number of natives paid us a visit & left on friendly terms. On the plains I observed several specimens of a very large Pine, the height of many I estimated at 130 ft. The habit of this Pine resembles that of *Pinus resinosa* [more] than [it resembles] any other that I know. In Co. with Dr. P. we wandered from the camp towards evenning, and found by the banks of a stream, a very handsome yellow Ranunculus, described by Dr. Hooker, in thickets. Trillium sp: with large leaves & small flowers; *Lupinus polyphyllus*? not in flower. Solitary specimens of a rich orange colour'd Cruciferae,⁶³ annual plant, were observed here for the first time.

21st. Started at day break and in the early part of the forenoon crossed a large river⁶⁴ about 70 feet wide. We now entered on a fine patch of Meadow land with clumps of Alder and Willow. The whole was quite flat & continued for at least three miles in the same direction as our route lay. I could observe the same character of land extended a considerable distance up the River. The soil was of a black turfy nature, & would be an excellent place for a farm and dairy. On leaving the meadow we began a gradual ascent the path in many places scarcely visable. Among dense masses of

⁵⁷ party started. Another peculiar discrepancy. Wilkes (*Diary*, p. 21) says that he left Nisqually next day at 10 A.M. The evening before, that is, the 18th, he had written: "Hope to see them [the Johnson party] off tomorrow, as I do not like the idea of starting before they are all off."

⁵⁸ such a number. Wilkes says that the 13 horses in his party were "all of them kindly loaned to me by the Company's agent Mr. Anderson, in charge of the Fort." ⁵⁹ compliment. Complement is intended.

⁶⁰ completed. Wilkes (*Diary*, p. 21) ridicules Johnson's horse-buying. "I had only to laugh at the perplexities Lt. Johnson was thrown into by the Indians retreating from the bargain he had all but closed with them, requiring more by way of potlatch or a gift adding greatly to the prise of horses."

⁶¹ lake. Sequalitchew.

⁶² small stream. Murray Creek.

⁶³ Cruciferae. The mustard family is called Brassicaceae in Piper.

⁶⁴ large river. The Puyallup River.

Gaultheria Shallon,⁶⁶ Hazel, Spiraea, Vaccinium,⁶⁶ & Cornus. Towards evening we came upon the Smaloch⁶⁷ river and encamped at the junction of the Upthascap⁶⁸ with the former. Though deserted of inmates, I here saw a very snug and perfectly water tight house built from plank split out of the Thuja, or Arbor Vitae, a tree which attains a great size⁶⁹ on these mountains. The planks were as smooth as if cut out by a saw & many of them three feet wide. At this place we met several natives awaiting the arrival of the Salmon as their season was now approaching. The snow melting on the mountains we were ascending had swollen the Rivers to an unusual size which made it necessary for us when we had to cross them, to cut down Trees on their banks so as to form a bridge to carry our packs across, making the Horses swim over.

May 22nd. The path which we generally followed was a faint Indian trail, and we did not learn whether horses had ever been taken⁷⁰ accross the Mountains by the same route or not; at least no traces of them could be found, so that our Guide was obliged to cut a run for us often to the length of several miles, through thickets of brush wood & wind falls. Our progress was not alone inter[r]upted by such causes, but the steep precipices which our horses had to ascend, with their slippery sides and rooty fronts—our horses often on getting within a few yards of the top was precipitated to the bottom, or wedged in, *packs and all*, between the Stems of Trees, which sometimes took us an hours hard labour to extricate and adjust the damage sustained.

23rd. At one of these hard catches, the horse carrying our provision Case fell from a bank into the River,⁷¹ the lashings giving way the whole pack went down the stream—the horse alone was recovered. Today we had a view of Mt. Ra[i]nier, which we judged to be distant 30 miles; & with the exception of a few rocky bluffs fronting the South east, the whole was perfectly covered with Snow, & so far as the eye could detect, destitute of Trees for at least 3000 ft. beneath the Summit—

(To be continued)

65 *Gaultheria shallon*, salal.

66 *Vaccinium*, huckleberry.

67 Smaloch. Brackenridge's memory slips here. The party did not reach the Smaloch (White) till two days later. The river here meant is the Puyallup. He wrote this from memory because of his having lost his notebook later near the Yakima.

68 Upthascap. The Carbon River, and its branch, South Prairie Creek.

69 great size. *Thuja plicata*, giant cedar.

70 been taken. Wilkes in the *Narrative* says, "They traversed a route which white men had never before taken." (P. 470.) But Pickering, in *The Races of Man*, (Quarterly, XX:55) says to the contrary: "The path we followed had been but once previously traversed by civilized man." The problem cannot be solved unless the missing books of the *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House* are found. The missing book for 1841 could certainly give new light on the Wilkes Expedition's activities thereabouts.

71 river. The *Narrative*, p. 421, calls it the Smaloch. It is now called the White River.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Romance of the Rails. By AGNES C. LAUT. (New York: Robt. M. McBride and Co. 2 vols. 1929. Pp. XV. 307; IX. 312-590. \$7.50.)

Agnes C. Laut, well known as a writer of Western history and historical literature, in these two interesting volumes tells "The story following the four centuries of Exploration in North America of that 'pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night,' which led man in all his wanderings to a realization as far exceeding his dreams as an astronomer's telescope outreaches the feeble grasp of a baby's hand at the stars." This pillar of cloud by day, pillar of fire by night is the locomotive "with its headlight illuminating the way before and its tail light semaphoring the way open to all behind."

These volumes are not a history of railroads but as their title indicates deal with the romance of the rails.

Beginning with early transportation by stage coach the first volume carries the story up to the Civil War: The second continues the narrative to various endings, in some cases, down almost to the present.

The literary style is most befitting romance. Everything moves with the rapidity of the pictures on the movie screen; nobody ever walks, with jumps, or jumps into something. Some of the chapter headings convey no meaning until the chapter is read at least in part, for instance, "Polly puts the Kettle on," "Where did Polly put the Kettle on," "The Milk that Walked," "Boston steps with Dignity," and "Legal Rascality, Loaded Dice."

The Romance of the Sante Fe Trail occupies 29 pages; The Panic of 1873 and The Northern Pacific, and that of the Great Northern are given substantially equal space; but the Hill-Harriman struggle furnishes 39 pages of Romance. Forty excellent full page illustrations set forth the evolution of transportation and its pioneers in Capital fashion. The volumes are well printed, and well bound, and there is an adequate index.

EDWARD McMAHON

Beyond the Rockies. By LUKIN JOHNSTON. (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1929. Pp. 212.)

The far reaches of British Columbia are described by this travel diary, in which the author sets down in chatty detail a record of many personal interviews with the settlers of the province.

It is interesting to follow along with Johnston the trail he took on foot and by canoe over 3,000 miles of wild and remote country, little known and exceedingly beautiful. From Mayne Island to the upper waters of the Peace river the author wandered, making friends on every hand. A sympathetic listener, Johnston was able to glean a great deal of information through his conversations with these pioneering people, and it is for the picture of their daily lives brought out in this way that the book is chiefly interesting.

CHLOE S. THOMPSON

American History Told by Contemporaries. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, with the collaboration of JOHN GOULD CURTIS. Vol. V. "Twentieth Century United States, 1900-1929." (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1929. Pp. XXI. 917. \$3.75.)

This is the fifth volume in the well known and useful series edited by Professor Hart that has done so much to make American history vivid and interesting. This series is so well known to teachers everywhere that comment on its character is unnecessary. The present volume covers a briefer period than its predecessors and presents problems of selection that the earlier volumes did not because the material of the earlier problems could be seen somewhat in perspective. Perhaps no two individuals would include the same extracts. Judgments differ, and so do points of view. In the present volume there are rarely presented extracts more or less in conflict with each other. Owing to the, as yet, unsettled character of the problems the inclusion of extracts on opposite sides would seem to make for fairness of treatment. However the editors have used their best judgment in making the selections, and the wisdom of Professor Harts' judgment has been demonstrated in the earlier volumes. The reviewer would have found space for LaFollette's side of the campaign of 1912, as a corrective of the Roosevelt side: he would have found a different statement of Wilson's "Too proud to fight," and he would not have included Roosevelts story of "Warning the German Emporer" in the light of Hill's, Roosevelt and the Caribbean. However, these are incidental differences of opinion, and the volume will take its place with the others in the series as the standard source books in American History.

Washakie. By GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930. Pp. 337.)

Miss Hebard of the University of Wyoming has gathered an immense amount of very valuable information in this excellent volume which treats not only of the eventful life of Chief Wash-a-kie but also gives an interesting account of the historical panorama which was enacted in the general vicinity of the South Pass.

Chief Washakie is justly distinguished not only for his steadfast friendliness to the white man but also for his noble life and character. His long life spanned the nineteenth century and brought him into intimate relations with the numerous groups which passed through that region or who settled in that part of the country.

The book is well written, well printed and bound and is illustrated by over twenty full page photographic reproductions and seven specially prepared maps. There is an introduction by Brigadier General William Carey Brown; an appendix of Shoshonean dances etc. and one giving twenty-seven spellings of the name of the chief. The bibliography cites one hundred and thirty two titles, including many original letters. The index requires over fourteen pages with double columns. A list of the eight other works of this accomplished author indicates the extensive range of her researches.

J. NEILSON BARRY

Oregon Trail Blazer. By FRED LOCKLEY. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1929. Pp. 369.)

Fred Lockley, the "Journal Man," has here produced the third volume of his Oregon pioneer sketches. The titles of the other (both reviewed in previous issues of this *Quarterly*) are *Oregon Folks* and *Oregon's Yesterdays*. He is well known throughout the Pacific Northwest by these books and, more especially, by his series of articles appearing regularly in *The Oregon Journal* of Portland.

The copy of the book here considered is called the "Oregon Journal Edition" and P. L. Jackson, Publisher of that paper, contributes a laudatory foreword.

The author's sketches cover the history of the Oregon Country from the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray through the explorations by Lewis and Clark and others to the great work and tragedy of Marcus Whitman. He uses no footnotes or index. It is just a series of articles in the readable style of a skilled newspaper man. People will have fun reading the book and seeing how the story as a whole is welded together as if a reporter had had

an opportunity of interviewing the participants before they had passed away.

EDMOND S. MEANY

The Day of the Cattleman. By ERNEST STAPLES OSGOOD. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1929. Pp. 283. \$3.50.)

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. Mr. Osgood has not passed in review the entire range-cattle industry in the western part of the United States. His study is regional and treats of Wyoming and Montana. In respect of these areas he seems to have succeeded in his object of describing the "more solid achievements" of the range cattlemen: effective utilization of the semi-arid plains stimulation of railroad building, laying the economic foundations of certain western commonwealths.

The author has developed his subject in seven chapters bearing the following titles: "The Cattleman's Frontier, 1845-1867," "The Texas Invasion," "The Indian Barrier," "The Cattle Boom," "Organization," "The Cattleman and the Public Domain," and "Disaster and Transition." He has included in his book a useful bibliography of which the most interesting section is that devoted to manuscripts. He has made use of material in the office of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association in Cheyenne and of the Minute Book of the Montana Stock Growers' Association in the possession of the Montana State Historical Society. He has also consulted federal and state documents, newspapers, reports of boards of trade, journals, and other contemporary material. The book contains several maps and illustrations and a satisfactory index.

The Day of the Cattleman is a balanced, well-written, readable narrative. It contains much material which is not easily accessible to the general reader or student. The book is a welcome addition to the growing historical literature of the West. But mention should be made of the fact that, in respect of the range-cattle industry in Wyoming, Mr. Osgood's study was preceded by a significant article, "A Cattlemen's Commonwealth on the Western Range," published by Mr. Louis Pelzer in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June, 1926).

Students of the history of the Oregon Country will regret that Mr. Osgood did not devote more attention to the movement of cattle from the Pacific Northwest to regions east of the Rockies. This subject receives only passing mention (p. 50, note: p. 93: p. 138

note). By the middle of the seventies cattle were moving eastward from the ranges of the Oregon Country, and during the years of the "cattle boom" on the high plains the range-cattle industry in the Pacific Northwest was in process of liquidation. During these years thousands of Oregon cattle were driven eastward, some intended for immediate shipment by rail to markets in the Middle West, some for shipment to "corn" states for feeding, and others for stocking ranges in Wyoming and Montana. Mr. Osgood has observed that the "importation of Oregon cattle all through the range period" was a factor "in the improvement of the northern herds" (p. 138, *note*).

The publication of a few more regional studies of the range-cattle industry will, it is hoped, be followed by a summary volume which will take a place alongside of Paxson's book on the history of the American frontier and of Hibbard's on the history of national land policies.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest. By HARRY ELLSWORTH COLE, edited by LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930. Pp. 376. \$6.00 net.)

Mr. Cole was for several years President of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He was editor of the Baraboo, Wisconsin, *News* and made a hobby of the history and archaeology of the Old Northwest, especially that area between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. His researches naturally included much of the material relating to the expansion toward the Far Northwest. At the time of his death the manuscript was nearly ready for the printer. The last work of revision was done by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Senior Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Hamlin Garland says: "The volume is packed with valuable historic material on the early days in the Old Northwest." The book has a jolly style. The stories and facts are memorable. It is a useable book, the text being supplemented with a folding colored map, a smaller detailed map, thirty-one plates and an extensive, analytical index. Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, says the book contains Mr. Cole's best work.

State Manual of Washington. (Olympia: State Superintendent of Public Instructor, 1930. Pp. 162.)

The book is for school people, teachers officers and pupils. It includes the Constitution, excerpts from the School Code, State Course of Study, sketches of the State Educational Institutions and other chapters.

From page 5 to page 49 will be found "A Brief Outline of the History of Washington" by J. Orin Oliphant, for years a valued member of the staff at the State Normal School at Cheney. He has recently completed his work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard and has accepted the position of Professor of History at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. He was well prepared to write this history portion of the Manual of Washington. He and his associate C. S. Kingston at State Normal School, Cheney, had already published the *Outline of Northwest History*, which had proved valuable in that institution. In this present work Professor Oliphant has covered the ground well in brief form and has added four pages of helpful bibliography and suggestions to teachers.

Wilderness Trails. By F. W. SCHMOE. (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1930. Pp. 117. \$1.00.)

F. W. Schmoe, is a naturalist and an artist. There are forty-two of his drawings in this book. He has worked in the Northern Cascades as "hoss wrangler" and in other capacities including National Park Naturalist. He has prepared illustrated articles for newspapers and addresses for the radio. The best of these he has here collected into a book tastefully, but not expensively bound.

Visitors and tourists will be glad to get the book as a souvenir of attractive features in an interesting region.

Sitka, Portal to Romance. By BARRETT WILLOUGHBY. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. Pp. 233. \$3.00.)

Miss Willoughby loves her Sitka and the whole Alaska. With the descendants of the old Russians and with the modern citizens she has lived and observed. Here she tells her story in a fascinating style. Her gleanings are not only interesting. They are valuable as well and the book deserves a wide reading.

History of Alaska. By HENRY W. CLARK. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. Pp. 208. \$2.50.)

The author, a native of Alaska and later a resident of New England, is quite modest. He does not claim that his book is the definitive history of that great land. He seeks to correct bad or extravagant impressions. One of these is the idea that Alaska has no resources and the equally erroneous one that her resources are unlimited. He dedicates the book to Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, which is in itself evidence of sincere regard for historical accuracy.

The book is well illustrated, including a serviceable map. There is also a helpful index.

Iglaome the Lone Hunter. By HAROLD McCACKEN. (New York: The Century Company, 1930. Pp. 248. \$1.75.)

The author is well known as an arctic explorer. His last venture was as leader of the Stoll-McCracken Siberian Arctic Expedition. He has here produced a story for juvenile readers in which he has revealed the life of a boy who earned by his courage and skill the right to succeed his father as chief of the tribe. An Eskimo story should be popular while all are thinking about such men as Admiral Byrd and his associates.

In Search of America. By LUCY LOCKWOOD HAZARD. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930. Pp. XXV+586. \$3.75.)

The author is Associate Professor of English in Mills College, California. A previous book was entitled *The Frontier in American Literature*.

This present volume bears evidence of scholarly research and clever selectiveness. There are valuable bibliographies. The bulk of the work comprises selections from well established authorities. These are arranged in five parts under the following heads: "Biography," "History," "Folk Song and Story," "Locality," and "Criticism." There is a useful index.

The Attainment of Statehood. By MILO M. QUAIFE. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928. Pp. XIII+965.)

Thus bulky volume by the well known authority on Wisconsin history, Milo M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, contains the debates, discussions and transactions pertaining to the admission of Wisconsin into the Union. Writers in that field will find it a mine of wealth.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. *Annual report for the year 1926*, and *Supplement, Writings on American History*, 1926, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930. 2 vols.)
- FOIK, PAUL J. *Pioneer Catholic Journalism*. United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series XI. (New York: Society, 1930. Pp. 221).
- LAMPEN, DOROTHY. *Economic and Social Aspects of Federal Reclamation*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLVIII, No. 1. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. 125. \$1.25.)
- LIONBERGER, I. H. *The Annals of St. Louis and a Brief Account of its Foundation and Progress, 1764-1928*. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society. Pp. 83. \$0.50.)
- MOON, PARKER THOMAS. *Public Control of Power*. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. XIV, No. 1. (New York: Society, 1930. Pp. 210. \$2.50.)
- SHAMBAUGH, BENJAMIN F. *Municipal Government and Administration in Iowa*. Iowa Applied History Series Vols. V, VI. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1930. 2 vols.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Pictorial Map of Washington

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society's President, Mrs. W. G. Ramage, is heading up an interesting task for the Spokane Branch of the University Women. They propose to produce a pictorial map of Washington as has been done in Montana, Wyoming, Minnesota, California and other states.

Spokane House

The leading article entitled "Spokane House" by T. C. Elliott in the January issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* has been reprinted in the form of a beautiful pamphlet by The Old National Bank and Trust Company of Spokane. The President of the bank, Mr. W. D. Vincent, has added an appreciative foreword. There have also been added a double-page picture of the site of the old Spokane House, a cover illustration of a probable view in 1810, and a brief suggestion of bibliography.

Explorers Honored

The people of Tacoma and invited guests witnessed an elaborate and appropriate program at Sunrise Beach on May 26, 1930, when there was unveiled a marker in honor of explorers. The purpose and achievement are made clear by the wording of the marker as recorded by the *Tacoma News* of May 27, as follows:

"In honor of Northwest explorers, Robert Gray, 1788-1792; George Vancouver, 1792-1794; Charles Wilkes, 1841. May 26, 1792, John Sykes, Vancouver expedition, sketched the bay and mountain from this spot; August 22, 1853, Theodore Winthrop crossed from the west passage to the Narrows. He saw the reflection of the mountain in the water, and wrote: 'The Siwash call it Tacoma.' Erected by Monday Civic Club, Tacoma, May 26, 1930."

Professor Barnes

Professor Donald Grove Barnes, of the University of Oregon, has accepted election to the Faculty of the University of Washington as Professor of European History, beginning with the academic year of 1930-1931. His most recent book, *A History of the English Corn Laws*, 1660-1846, published by George Routledge & Sons, London, in 1930, has received much praise in England and will undoubtedly receive a similar welcome in America as copies become available.

Captain Gray Documents

Mr. George H. Hines, the veteran historian of Oregon, has recently printed on substantial cards the Sea Letter for Captain Robert Gray, signed by President George Washington, and also a letter dated at Boston, April 25, 1892, from Mary E. Bancroft, a granddaughter of Captain Gray, who was sending for preservation by the Oregon Pioneer Association the sea chest of her grandfather's famous ship *Columbia*. These documents will be of continual use by those who teach the History of the Pacific Northwest.

Geographic Names Decisions

During the last three months the United States Geographic Board has made a number of decisions relating to the State of Washington and its neighbors in the Pacific Northwest.

On March 5, the record shows twenty-three decisions in Alaskan names and recognizes the dropping of the final "e" resulting in Clark County, Washington, this conforming to the act by the Washington Legislature, December 23, 1925.

The record for April 2, shows one decision for Oregon, ten for Alaska and two for Washington. The Washington decisions were directly opposite. Castle Rock (as named by William Huntington in 1858) is to be of two words and Mossyrock is hereafter officially to be of one word instead of two as was occasionally used.

There was no Washington decision recorded at the meeting of May 7, but there was one Oregon decision and twenty-four decisions for Alaska.

Everymans Almanac

The Milwaukee Road has issued a 1930 pamphlet entitled *Everymans Almanac*, packed with information, good advice and humor. Facts about railroads and transportation naturally predominant. Quotations from Lincoln and other Americans will surprise those who glance through the pages looking for dates or phases of the moon.

History Congress

The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology will be held in London during July, 1930. It is the particular desire of President Charles Singer that the work of the Congress should be linked with that of the general historian. The Headquarters is at the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7 and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, H. W. Dickinson.

Institute of International Relations

The sixth session, called the San Francisco Bay Session, is to be held at the University of California, August 8 to 15, 1930. This is the second summer session. The first one was held in 1928 at the University of Washington. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace again provides a subvention but the people of the West Coast must provide an equal sum toward the expenses. This is to be done by registration fees which are placed at ten dollars for each member or delegate. An attractive program of lectures, conferences and round tables has been prepared.

Anglo-American Historical Conferences

The eighth annual interim Anglo-American Historical Conference will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, London, on Friday July 4, 1930. At the same place during July of 1931, by invitation of the University of London a full quinquennial Conference will be held as in the years 1921 and 1926. Particulars may be learned from the Secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, W. C. 1, London.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE MARITIME ACTIVITIES OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY, 1813 TO 1821

As captains of industry the North West Company of Canada controlled the fur trade of the unknown wilderness reaching outward toward the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Forests and plains, rivers and lakes were traversed by the indomitable men of the North. Yet these Bedouins of the western world looked even beyond toward Cathay,—“That vast shore washed by the farthest sea”—to China, which was the Mecca of the merchants of the nineteenth century.

The story of the sea-faring of the Nor’ Westers is a chapter in the history of that trans-Pacific trade which, in pre-treaty days, centered in Canton, the “City of the Rams.”¹ Life there for the Fan-Qwae,² or “foreign devils,” was confined to the “Thirteen Factories” without the city wall.³ In the largest of these the Honorable East India Company had established itself with a degree of magnificence not attained by the Americans nor even by any other of the European traders. Together these commercial pioneers tapped the vast reservoir of wealth in China. Toward this Viking settlement of treasure hunters the North West Company made its way that it might add to its own golden hoard. In 1813 the great adventure began.

At the annual meeting of the Company held at Fort William⁴ in the summer of 1812 it was determined to establish a fur post at the mouth of the Columbia River. This was the strategic position for the control of the interior trade, and it afforded the base for a trans-Pacific fur trade. The immense distance from Montreal to the Pacific Coast made the land transportation of trade goods to

¹ An ancient name for the city of Canton. Gideon Nye, *The Morning of My Life in China* (Canton, 1873), 4.

² This signifies literally “barbarian wanderer” or “outlandish demon.” C. T. Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-7* (London, 1838), I, 5.

³ The foreign hongs, or “Thirteen Factories,” were owned by the hong merchants and rented to the traders from overseas, foreigners not being allowed to own land at Canton. Collectively they were known as hongs; each one contained separate residences including counting rooms, one behind the other with small open courts between them.

⁴ The partners of the North West Company met every summer at Fort William, on the northern shore of Lake Superior, to discuss the affairs of the Company and to make the arrangements for the following year. At this meeting in 1812 they planned to acquire Astoria, the fur post established at the mouth of the Columbia River by John Jacob Astor of New York.

the remote posts on the western side of the Rocky Mountains unprofitable, hence they were to be routed by sea to the Northwest Coast. A ship from London was to carry the English merchandise to the Columbia, whence, with the furs collected from the far western posts, it would sail for China. The timely purchase of Astoria from the Pacific Fur Company removed the formidable opposition trade of the Americans.

A vigorous and expansive program of trade was planned. It was to be a smooth golden round. The ocean highways were to be followed to those outposts of civilization where furs could be obtained or disposed of. Goods from England to the Pacific Coast, rich furs from the interior posts, sea-otter from the remote northern fjords and the harbors of California, fragrant sandalwood from the Sandwich Islands—all these were to be given in exchange for the Gold of Ophir.

A difficulty lay in the stranglehold on the China trade by the commercial octopus, the English East India Company. British ships could trade in the Far East only under the license of that company. This excluded British merchants from the barter trade engaged in by the American merchants, and, while they had the protection of the Company, they were required to exchange their cargoes, not for Chinese teas, silks, and other rich merchandise of the Orient which could be taken to England and the Continent, but for specie which must be deposited with the East India Company. For this specie the Company would issue bills on London at twelve months, sight.⁵ The restrictions of this monopoly practically eliminated the British traders from competition with the Americans.

The activities of the North West Company in the China trade extended over the years 1813 to 1821. They fall into two groups: (1) The attempts to trade direct with China in spite of the regulations of the East India Company. (2) The arrangements with an American firm for the ocean shipments of goods, and the conduct of trade in China and home markets to evade that monopoly.

During the years 1813 to 1815 the North West Company sent at least three vessels from London to the Columbia, and thence to China. All these vessels belonged to the London agents of the Company, by whom they were fitted out for the trade.

To get the benefit of freight both ways, and the advantage of sale by barter, the Canadians in 1815 made an arrangement with the Boston firm of J. and T. H. Perkins by which the supplies of

⁵ Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), 38.

British manufactures required for the fur posts on the Columbia were sent from England to Boston,⁶ whence an annual ship was sent by the American firm to convey them to the Columbia, and to take the furs to the Canton market. The proceeds of their sale were to be invested in teas and other produce of China, and consigned to the Perkins firm of Boston, by whom they were to be disposed of, the consignees to retain one-fourth of the proceeds as their share of the voyage. This arrangement proving extremely profitable to both the Canadians and the Americans, it was continued until the union of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821.

With the exception of the transfer of the deep-sea shipments to the American merchants, the activities of the North West Company remained essentially the same all these years. Supplies for the interior posts, and the trade returns (furs) were still routed through the Columbia department; and the coast and island trade was conducted in the Company's schooners with somewhat variable success. World commerce and the Canton market remained the Company's goal; only the intermediaries of that trade altered. With the beginnings of this commerce when the men of the North were adventuring in strange places we are more immediately concerned.

The China voyages afforded a vastly interesting aspect to the fur trade. Here was a far-flung enterprise that led these fur folk over the blue waters of the world to the ends of the earth. Clearing from Portsmouth in the autumn, in order to pass the high latitudes during the Antarctic summer, the ships generally arrived on the Northwest Coast by spring, whence they sailed for China with a cargo of furs. To obtain fresh provisions and prevent scurvy the Nor' Westers broke the voyage at least twice; sometimes at the Falklands, where they refitted for the always tempestuous seas around the Horn; usually at Juan Fernandez; and they often stopped at the Galápagos Islands⁷ to secure a giant tortoise; but on their way to China they invariably made Hawaii, for these were

⁶ William Sturgis, "The Northwest Fur Trade," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XIV, 538.

⁷ These wonder islands were a port of call for all ships in West-Pacific waters. Squarely under the equatorial sun their climate was made delightful by the Humboldt Current flowing from the icy waters of the Antarctic. Water, fresh meat, and safe coves for refitting ships, attracted successively pirates, sealers, and whalers (the distinction between these sea-rovers is not always clear). Delano has described the islands and says the giant tortoise found there furnished delicious meat for the crews of ships. An average tortoise weighed from fifty to a hundred pounds, but some went up to four hundred. On one of his visits to the Galapagos Islands, Captain Porter stowed away fourteen tons of live ones on board the *Essex*, and he tells us, "They require no provisions or water for a year, nor is any farther attention to them necessary, than that their shells should be preserved unbroken." *A Voyage in the South Seas in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814.* By Captain David Porter of the American Frigate, The *Essex*. (London, 1823), 66. Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (Boston, 1817), 369 *et seq.*

leisurely days in seafaring, and the palm-fringed lagoons and the languorous air of the enchanted islands possessed a lure for these world wanderers.

With favoring winds a few weeks' sail from Hawaii brought the mariners to the old Portuguese city of Macao,⁸ at the mouth of the Canton River. Here alone might the Fan-Qwae reside permanently. At Macao a licensed pilot was taken on board, and an official permit was secured which allowed the ship to go to Whampoa, the anchorage for all foreign merchantmen. There the Hoppo⁹ came on board to measure the ship for her duties. Not only did he extend the official hand of imperial China, but he received sizeable gifts for himself. Before trade could be opened the ship had to be secured by one of the Chinese merchants, who guaranteed its right conduct and the payment of its duties, and through whom, in return, its trade was usually conducted.

From Whampoa the cargo was lightered in chop boats¹⁰ twelve miles up stream to old Canton, landed at Jackass Point, and stored in a hong belonging to a security merchant. Only the supercargo and the ship's officers were allowed to stay at the Canton factories; the sailors remained on their vessel at Whampoa, enjoying an occasional "liberty day" at Canton.¹¹

The foreign trade was confined to a suburb of Canton called the "Thirteen Factories." The many storied hongs (foreign factories), with their huge go-downs or warehouses, were built outside the ancient wall of the city.¹² In front of the factories was the Square, with Jackass Point.¹³ This was the landing place for ship's boats from Whampoa. No one but the Fan-Qwae, or "foreign devils," could take the air and exercise on the famous Square, known the world over wherever ships sailed.

Before the Square flowed the river. Innumerable boats floated on its waters. Stately mandarin boats, painted the blue of the sky, expressed Chinese imperial authority. They were propelled by double banks of silvery-white oars; over the highly polished deck of hard wood was raised a light shelter, its sides covered with vermillion and gold leaf; curiously shaped paper lanterns bore the

⁸ Macao was the old Portuguese colony established in the sixteenth century. Every foreign vessel had to approach Canton through Macao. As residence was permitted at the Canton factories only during the trading season, foreigners who wished to live in China had their homes at Macao.

⁹ The Hoppo was the superintendent of customs.

¹⁰ The chop was a large boat with one great mat sail; its office was merely that of a lighter, hence no ornament was thrown away on it. Downing, *The Fan-qui in China*, I, 100.

¹¹ William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London, 1885), 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 195. The city of Canton was first walled in during the year 1067 A.D.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 13. For eighty years the foreigners had the exclusive use of the Square. The origin of the singular name of the Point was unknown; it was probably because it had come to be a resort for gossip over the topics of the day.

name and the title of the officer on board, and from everywhere floated gay silk pennants of exquisite colors. Great tea-deckers, with red lacquered sides, each carrying an enormous square sail of brown matting, brought the teas from up the river. Anchored along the river banks were the gorgeously decorated flower boats; their balconies of intricately carved wood fretted with green and gold, were surmounted with roofs covered with pots of the gayest flowers in full bloom. Lacquered barges, festooned with crimson silk and edged with gilded carving, bore important mandarins and hoppos to and fro; and amid all the multitudinous river traffic, great and small, hundreds of little sampans darted in and out bearing the humble tradesmen of the river city.¹⁴

In these early days foreign commerce was compelled to fit into the Canton commercial system. Free from all treaty restrictions¹⁵ and diplomatic interference, a curious business organization was formed. The central institution was the "co-hong,"¹⁶ a loose monopoly established by the imperial government expressly for the control of foreign commerce. All trade was conducted by the co-hong, and through it the government communicated with foreigners. It was composed of a varying number of hong merchants, supposedly thirteen but usually fewer. Each merchant did business independently of the others. They acted together merely for the control of foreigners and the enforcement of trade regulations. They were given the complete control of all foreigners, their persons, their property, and their trade; likewise they were held responsible for their actions.¹⁷ It was a very effective way of handling foreign affairs while they were limited to the port of Canton. It came to an end when treaties were signed with the foreign powers.¹⁸

14 For vivid pictures of the colorful boat life on the Canton River see, Hunter, *Bits of Old China*, 17-19; and Downing, *The Fan-qui in China*, I, *passim*. Written by contemporaries, these books describe the life in China in pre-treaty days; they have been widely used by modern writers.

15 Of all the European powers Russia alone had a treaty with China before 1842. The Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689, limited the trade relations between Russia and China to a single point—Kyakhta on the Siberian-Mongolian border. In 1806 the Russians sent two ships to open up the sea trade with Canton. They obtained cargoes, but the only result was that the Chinese prohibited all trade to nations not already established in the Canton factories. H. B. Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (New York, 1913), 278.

16 "Co-hong" was the pidgin-English corruption for the Chinese name *Yeung Hong Sheung* meaning the "Foreign Associated Merchants." K. S. Latourette, "The History of Early Relations between The United States and China 1784-1844." *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 22, p. 20.

Williams says the Chinese word "hong" means a row or series, and is applied to warehouses because these consist of a succession of rooms. The foreign factories were built in this manner, therefore the Chinese called each block a hong; the security merchants were called hong merchants, because they lived in such establishments. S. E. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1883), 167.

17 K. S. Latourette, *Early Relations Between the United States and China*, 20-21.

18 S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1921), 279. The Treaty of Nanking, 1842, between China and England, ended forever the old Canton methods of trade and opened up four new ports to European commerce.

The Isaac Todd

The pioneer fur ship of the North West Company in the China trade¹⁹ was the *Isaac Todd*; she left England in the spring of 1813. This ship was sent to the Columbia River with the intention of forming a settlement there, probably taking over Astoria. Donald McTavish was in charge of the expedition and was accompanied by John McDonald of Garth. They were partners in the Company and both were Highland Scotchmen. An overland party, under the leadership of J. G. McTavish and Alexander Henry, was to proceed from Fort William to meet the ship on the Northwest Coast.

In August the Montreal agents wrote to the London members of the firm telling them of the plans for the trans-Pacific trade, and that the *Isaac Todd* would be sent to England to be fitted out for this round-the-world adventure. During the autumn the London agents were instructed to apply to the Admiralty for a sloop of war to convoy their ship, and to clear the coast of hostile vessels.²⁰ In accordance with these plans the *Isaac Todd* was fitted out for the Northwest Coast by the London firm, Fraser, McGillivrays and Company, and in March, 1813, she sailed from Portsmouth under command of Captain Fraser Smith. The *Phoebe*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Hillyar, accompanied her as convoy under sealed orders to be opened after leaving Rio de Janeiro.²¹

The fur magnates, Messrs. McTavish and McDonald, were passengers for the Columbia River. They were accompanied by Dr. Swan, who was to be the resident physician at the new establishment, and four clerks, all Scotch, Alexander McTavish and James Chisholm McTavish, Alexander Fraser, and Alexander McKenzie.²² To insure a safe entrance of the difficult channel of the Columbia River a Sandwich Islander, who was familiar with

19 Furs belonging to the North West Company had been sent to China at various times, and through various channels. Mackenzie says that a considerable number of beaver, otter, and kit fox skins were sent through the United States to China in 1798. Advantage was probably taken of Jay's Treaty, which removed the restrictions on direct trade from Canada to the United States. Why the trade was diverted from the London market, Mackenzie explains as follows: An adventure in the China trade was undertaken by "a respectable house in London, half concerned with the North West Company, in the year 1792." Selected furs were sent to the annual value of £40,000 in the years 1792-1795 inclusive. In 1796 the furs were sold in the London market, and in 1797 the experiment was concluded. The North West Company lost £40,000 on their half interest. This loss was principally due to the difficulty of getting home from China the merchandise obtained for the furs, together with the high duties, and the restrictions of the East India Company on the China trade. Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal ... Through the Continent of North America In the Years 1789 and 1793* (London, 1801), xxvi.

20 G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918), 136.

21 "The orders given to Captain James Hillyar of the *Phoebe* to convoy the *Isaac Todd*, annihilate any American settlements in the region of the Columbia, etc., are in Admiralty 2, vol. 1380, pp. 367-379." G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, p. 137, n. 68.

22 Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London, 1831), I, 286.

the river, was taken along as pilot. A half dozen good Canadian voyageurs completed the personnel of the fur men.

The voyageurs caused no end of trouble. Gay and irresponsible, they were eager for the delights of shore leave. On the eve of their sailing for the Pacific they celebrated with a convivial last good time in Portsmouth. The festivities over they set out to return to their ship in a shore boat; the four clerks were also aboard, all under the convoy of Mr. McTavish. A press gang lurking in the shadowy darkness boarded their boat, and took all but Mr. McTavish and one clerk to a recruiting ship in the harbor. The lordly midshipman in charge paid no attention to the Scotch invective of McTavish—off they went to join the navy. Incensed at the loss of his men, McTavish returned to the hotel where he had left McDonald dining with two of the London agents, the Honorable Edward Ellis and Mr. McGillivray; here the influence of "big business" made itself felt. Ellis being closely related to the port admiral, an order to release the men was quickly obtained and the following morning saw them all safely aboard the *Isaac Todd*.²³

Under convoy of the *Phoebe* they left England late in March. Sailing southward, the equator was crossed in May. The long days on these summer seas were pleasantly broken by catching green turtles and occasionally harpooning fierce sharks. This deep sea fishing furnished sport for the men and very superior provisions for their eating.

Touching at Rio de Janeiro in June they found Rear Admiral Dixon's flagship and several smaller vessels in the harbor. While there Captain Hillyar learned that the United States frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain David Porter, was in the North Pacific working havoc with the British whalers. One of them, taken as a prize, had been refitted as a sloop of war with twenty guns, and now accompanied the *Essex*. As the *Isaac Todd* was a very slow sailer the admiral was asked to send an additional force with the *Phoebe*. Accordingly the *Cherub* and the *Raccoon* were added to the convoy to secure the safety of the merchantman.

Shortly after noon on the ninth of July the *Isaac Todd* weighed anchor and under a light breeze stood down the Bay of Rio. The three war ships followed. Next day John McDonald, the Islander, and four Canadians, were transferred to the *Phoebe*. This had been arranged in London, and was intended to insure the presence

23 L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest avec une Esquisse Historique et des Annotations* (Quebec, 1889-1890), II, 44-45.

of at least one of the partners of the North West Company at the taking over of any fur posts belonging to the Americans.

Winter was closing in as they entered the high latitudes and the little fleet made haste to double the Horn. The four captains agreed to rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandez if the ships were separated on the long voyage to the Pacific. Off the Falklands storms were encountered. McDonald's logbook reads; "July 20, Heavy gale; near losing sight of the *Isaac Todd*, she having drifted to the leeward. July 29. *Cherub* only in sight, no sign of the *Isaac Todd*. July 30. Lost hopes of joining the *Isaac Todd*."²⁴ Violent storms succeeded each other; days of tumult were followed by starless nights. It was nearly six weeks before the war ships could double Cape Horn, but once in the favoring winds of the Pacific they sailed northward for their rendezvous. When still far away the island was sighted directly ahead, rising like a deep blue cloud from out the sea. Hours later at sunset the three war vessels anchored in the nearly landlocked harbor of the island. The war ships had arrived at Juan Fernandez on the eleventh of September but the *Isaac Todd* did not meet them; somewhere in that far-flung solitude she was alone.

The next day about noon the three British captains, the purser and the doctor of the frigate, and Mr. McDonald, paid a visit to the Spanish governor of the island. They landed at a wharf of stone built where once the corsairs of the South Seas had been accustomed to beach their boats. Looking seaward there was a tiny settlement; a church carried aloft the cross of the faith; nearby was a house of some pretension for the governor; its red-tiled roof, stone faced walls, and grated windows, set it apart from the primitive Robinson Crusoe-like huts of the settlement. At the wharf they were met by two rotund padres. These kindly men embraced the travelers as was the Spanish custom and escorted them to the governor's residence.

For a week they tarried. During this time Captain Hillyar examined some charts of the Columbia River and learned that the bar was too shallow to admit his frigate. Accordingly McDonald and the voyageurs were transferred to the *Raccoon* which was detailed for the Columbia,²⁵ while Captain Hillyar, with the *Phoebe* and the *Cherub*, set sail in quest of Captain Porter and the *Essex*.

²⁴ Elliott Coues, ed. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson* (New York, 1897), II, 762-763, n. 26.

²⁵ When the *Raccoon* arrived at Astoria, the American fur post at the mouth of the Columbia River, Captain Black found the partners of the North West Company in possession. They had purchased the establishment and named it Fort George.

Meanwhile, in those lonely seas the *Isaac Todd* was driven out of her course. Through endless wintry nights she fought her way against winds and waves. No details are known of her lone calls at the island outposts of the world. Too late to meet her convoy she adventured alone in Pacific waters. She touched at Juan Fernandez, then, following the route of the whalers, she made for the old pirate stronghold, the Galápagos Islands. On these desolate shores the men feasted on the giant tortoise. With the crew rested and refreshed they continued their voyage; but their supply of water was inadequate. Alexander Henry tells us: "They were put on short allowance of water about the time they crossed the line—one pint per day to each person in that hot climate; they complain of this great hardship and say they suffered much."²⁶

To secure fresh water and provisions they anchored at Monterey, California, about the middle of January. On the twenty-first of that month Richard Swan, the surgeon of the *Isaac Todd*, certified to the Spanish authorities that there was no infectious disease on board, but three of the crew had the scurvy. On the same day Captain Fraser Smith wrote to Don José Arrillaga, governor of California, asking for wood, water, and provisions.²⁷ The Spaniards granted these necessities to the Englishmen, and they also allowed them to purchase supplies of grain, meat, tallow, and live stock for the establishment on the Columbia.

A few days before the *Isaac Todd* arrived at Monterey another British vessel had intruded into California. It was the *Raccoon*, badly damaged in crossing the bar of the Columbia on her way to the Sandwich Islands; with seven feet of water in her hold she barely made the port of San Francisco. Captain Black, of the *Raccoon*, was well treated by Luis Argüello, the comandante of the presidio. On the fifteenth of January Argüello wrote to Governor Arrillaga that the *Raccoon* had anchored in San Francisco Bay because of the accident, and to get supplies.²⁸

The opportune arrival of the *Isaac Todd* made possible the repair of the *Raccoon*. Indeed Arrillaga aided them all he could, for the quicker the vessel was made seaworthy the sooner would California be rid of her unwelcome guests.²⁹ The charm and idleness of life in California proved to be an irresistible attraction to

26 Coues, *Henry Thompson Journals*, II, 900.

27 California Archives, Provincial State Papers, MS, XIX, 369.

28 California Archives, Provincial Records, MS, XII, 226.

29 D. Zavalishin, *Delo o Koloniy Ross*, Russian America, vol. V. MS Translation in Bancroft Library, pp. 4-5. In July, 1814, Kuskof, the Russian commander at Fort Ross, reported to Baranof, the Russian governor at Sitka, that Captain Black treated the Spaniards as his subordinates; that Black had hinted to him that the colony Ross was an intrusion; "that the Russians disturbed the right of great Britain as New Albion, as the name shows, is the property of the empire and not of the Spaniards."

some of the sailors, and eight of them deserted from the *Isaac Todd*. Captain Black promptly wrote to Arrillaga reporting the desertion, and that seven of the eight men were British. He requested the governor to capture the runaways and send them under escort to the *Raccoon* at San Francisco, adding that he was short of men due to sickness and other casualties.³⁰ Perhaps the Spaniards were a bit slow in apprehending the fugitive seamen for on March 29, Black again wrote to Arrillaga. He repeated the contents of his letter of March 4, and added that several of his own men intended to desert and claim the protection of the Spanish authorities as Roman Catholics; he hoped such conduct would not be upheld by either the governor or his officers.³¹ In another letter of the same date Black informed Arrillaga that the accident to the *Raccoon* had ruined his gunpowder, and requested him to supply the ship with 1400 to 1500 pounds of powder, payable with bills on the British government "That I may be enable to put the remaining part of my orders into execution."³²

The Spaniards furnished him with a 1000 pounds of powder and other needed supplies. However, both the ships delayed their departure, for on February 21, Captain Smith also wrote to the governor in regard to the deserters, and requested that they be captured and delivered to the *Raccoon* at San Francisco.³³ Finally, on April 29, Argüello sent the good news to Arrillaga that the *Raccoon* sailed on the nineteenth; and her commander said he was going to Monterey, and from there to the Sandwich Islands to pursue the Americans.³⁴

Meanwhile, the *Isaac Todd* had sailed for the Columbia River, where she arrived April 22. The differences between Captain Smith and the irascible and independent Donald McTavish had grown so intolerable, in the long voyage of thirteen months from London, that by the time they got to Fort George they were on very bad terms, and Alexander Henry relates, "One messes in the after cabin, and the other with his officers in the gun room."³⁵

In addition to the supplies for the trade the *Isaac Todd* brought from England many luxuries for the partners and clerks of the North West Company; and at Monterey McTavish had purchased provisions of all kinds, and some live stock—two young bulls, two heifers, several pigs, some cocks and hens, and even a few Spanish

³⁰ Prov. St. Pap., MS, XIX, 368.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 370.

³² *Ibid.*, 370.

³³ *Ibid.*, 369.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 368.

³⁵ Coues, *Henry Thompson Journals*, II, 900.

cats. Captain Smith anchored the vessel opposite the fort. The goods had to be unloaded by tackle and ferried across the river. The partners wanted him to anchor under the fort, claiming the anchorage was good with a sufficient depth of water, and that much labor and expense would be spared the Company in unloading; but the captain was obdurate, and remained at the inconvenient anchorage he had chosen.

The ship was now fitted out for China. As cargo she carried the furs that had been collected by the Americans at Astoria. Angus Bethune went aboard as supercargo, and September 26, 1814, she left the river.³⁶

To secure fresh provisions, a stop was made at the Sandwich Islands. At these crossroads flowed all the channels of trade and pleasure in the mid-Pacific; life in the lovely timeless islands was idyllic. The king, Kamehameha I, was a very sagacious ruler and his boundless hospitality made him the friend of all men of the sea. Shortly before the *Isaac Todd* arrived the *Forester*, claiming to be a British ship, had put in at the island of Hawaii.³⁷ The crew mutinied and her commander, Captain John Jennings, barely escaped with his life. He was protected by Kamehameha, and when the *Isaac Todd* came into port Mr. Bethune gave Captain Jennings a passage to China.

After a voyage of several weeks from Hawaii the *Isaac Todd* anchored in Macao Roads, and Captain Smith secured the mandarin pass permitting the vessel to go up river to Whampoa, where the commercial transactions began. Once anchored at Whampoa, the hoppo came on board to measure the ship; a linguist and comprador were secured, also a security merchant to transact the business at Canton.

Although compelled to submit to the uniform port and trade regulations of the Chinese the *Isaac Todd*, being a British vessel, came under the shadow of the East India Company. Until the dissolution of the Company's monopoly in 1834 the British merchants came to Canton only by permission of that Company, and they were required to act in conformity with the Company discipline. Accordingly, when Mr. Bethune had sold the furs through the hong merchant, he secured a lading of tea which the *Isaac Todd* carried to England for the account of the East India Company.³⁸

³⁶ Peter Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific*, Reprinted from *The London Literary Gazette*, 1821, Professor W. D. Alexander, ed. (Honolulu, 1896), 31.

³⁷ K. W. Porter, "John Jacob Astor and the Sandalwood Trade," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, May, 1930, 497. The brig *Forester*, fitted out in London early in 1813, belonged to J. J. Astor who sent it, under British colors, to carry supplies to Astoria.

³⁸ Davidson, *The North West Company*, 164.

His business as supercargo being completed, he was to remain in China and await the next Company ship from the Columbia River, on which he would return to the Northwest Coast. Captain Jennings also remained to secure the command of an outward bound vessel.

Meanwhile the *Isaac Todd* had completed her lading of tea, secured the Grand Chop which passed her down the river, and with the East India fleet bade farewell to China. As was the custom of China, on the day of sailing the comprador of each ship gave a present to every man on board according to his rank, then, as the ship slowly moved down with the ebbing tide and the sails were successively spread to the wind, the comprador's sampan was left behind, and as a last token of good will, the kindly Chinaman raised aloft a basket of exploding fire-crackers, lighted the "ghost-papers," and with the clanging of a brazen gong implored the gods of the winds and waves to grant the ship a successful voyage.³⁹

The Columbia

In the autumn of 1813 the Company's second vessel for the trans-Pacific and coasting trade was fitted out by the London houses Inglis, Ellis and Company, and McTavish, Fraser and Company. A schooner that had once belonged to the Americans was purchased and named the *Columbia*. Her commander was Captain Anthony Robson and the first mate was Peter Corney. Officers and crew numbered twenty-five men. The ship carried ten nine-pounders, and there was a patent boarding defense all around her bulwarks. November 26, the *Columbia* sailed in company with the Brazil fleet. In February they anchored in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro; here, as usual, some of the crew deserted.

After a stay of nine days at Rio they weighed anchor and sailed southward. On the fourteenth of March they sighted land. There in the surge of the South Atlantic they saw the storm-whipped, treeless, and forbidding Falklands.⁴⁰ Following the desolate shore eastward they entered a long reach of smooth water—Berkeley Sound. On the western shore, near the head of the Sound, they saw the old French settlement, Fort St. Louis, lonely

39 Downing, *The Fan-Qui in China*, I, 16-17. This ceremony is called by the Chinese "Ghos-pidgin" (God's business)—a propitiation to the gods of the waters for favoring winds and fine weather. The practice is universal in China.

40 The sea-faring French, mainly the men of St. Malo, had carried on a quiet trade with South America for more than a century. When they came to know the islands these bold Bretons called them for their own seaport—*îles Malouines*. Later, the Spanish called them *Malvinas*, or *Malvinas*, and nineteenth century American captains of whaling ships spoke of them as the Maloons. V. F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands* (Oxford, 1924), 33; Edmund Fanning, *Voyages Round the World* (New York, 1833), 93; Delano, *Voyages*, 260.

and deserted.⁴¹ From the sea as they stood in to shore they could see great herds of cattle roaming wild; and horses, pigs, ducks and geese were plentiful. The stock brought by the early French, and later Spanish, settlers had thrived on the wild tussock-grass native to the islands. Captain Robson went ashore to shoot ducks, and the sailors were given shore leave. They explored the gardens of the derelict town and found cabbages and celery growing in spite of neglect. Clearing away the weeds they planted different seeds for the benefit of future wayfarers.⁴² Two weeks passed quickly, the crew feasting on fresh fish and vegetables; then, the men having completed the rigging of the schooner for the wild seas of Cape Horn, they sailed out of the Sound bound for the Pacific.

Cape Horn weather greeted them. The little schooner plunged madly into a tempestuous head sea which at every drive rushed over the bows and buried all the forward part of the vessel. One day the round house was carried away, the cabin flooded, and four feet of water washed into the hold. The gale carried away the foreyard and split the sails. As the storm increased in violence they were forced to scud under bare poles before the wind. Late in April they doubled Cape Horn; the Atlantic with its trials lay behind them, in their wake the sullen waters of the Horn lashed themselves against the coast of Tierra del Fuego, ahead stretched the broad Pacific and adventure. From the cold latitudes to the Columbia River they had fair winds and good sailing. The voyage was without excitement except for an abortive attempt at mutiny.

On July 7, 1814, they entered the Columbia River and anchored in Baker's Bay. The partners of the North West Company, stationed at Fort George, fearing a visit from an American war ship, kept close watch on all visiting ships. Uncertain of her

41 Bougainville led an expedition to colonize the Falklands, long known to the French as the Malouines. In February, 1764, Fort St. Louis was established on Berkeley Sound. The colony thrived; all manner of stores, seeds and plants, and cattle—the descendants of which are in the islands today—were taken to the desolate land. The governor and his staff had stone houses to live in; humbler folk to the number of 150 had dwellings with turf walls. Meanwhile, Port Egmont on West Falkland was occupied by Commodore Byron of the English navy who took possession of the group and called them Falkland Islands, in ignorance of the fact that Bougainville, the previous year (1764), had claimed them for the king of France. Spain protested against the French intrusion into her domain (there were rumors of an English colony but no one seemed to know quite where it was). Bougainville agreed to withdraw his settlers, the Spanish government in return to indemnify him for the expense incurred by the St. Malo company. The unfortunate settlers were free to remain under the flag of Spain or return to France (about 100 left the islands). The colony was formally handed over to Spain in April, 1767 (the elusive English colony still a myth).

The Spanish officials who came to govern the lonely little settlement viewed with disfavor the certain cold and probable misery of its location. The solitude, the unquiet seas, and the perpetual winds dismayed them; yet, in grim endurance, for forty years they held their lonely outpost, and named it *Isla Nuestra Senora de la Soledad*. L. A. de Bougainville, *Autour du Monde* (Paris, 1771), 44-53.

42 Corney, *Voyages*, 20-21.

identity they sent a small boat from Fort George that evening which anchored inshore to ascertain whether she were friend or foe. Next morning the *Columbia* weighed and ran up river with the tide. She anchored beside the *Isaac Todd* opposite Fort George.

Columbia society welcomed the newcomers cordially. Chief Concomly arrived in his huge war canoe, for it was his custom to be the first to greet visiting vessels. Captain Fraser Smith of the *Isaac Todd* made a morning call, and a large bark canoe brought John George McTavish from Fort George.⁴³ Indians from nearby tribes visited the ship bringing sea-otter and beaver skins for trade; but the Company would not permit the ship's people to buy, as all trading on the river had to be done through the Company's post.

Having landed the supplies of English goods for the fort the *Columbia* loaded a cargo of bar iron, powder, ball, etc., for a trading trip to the Russians on Norfolk Sound⁴⁴. James McTavish went as supercargo and McLennan as clerk. Head winds delayed them, but on September 5 they saluted the Russians with thirteen guns. Governor Baránof honored them with an equal number. Visits of courtesy were exchanged, not only with the Russians, but with the traders whose ships were in the Sound. At Sitka, all the mariners of the North Pacific foregathered. Captain Bacon, of the American ship *Packet*, had arrived with a particularly fine cargo of furs from the Northwest Coast, and mate Corney says: "The Americans were very friendly with us, often spending the evenings on board." Once Baránof and his suite dined on the vessel, and the boarding defense for keeping off hostile Indians pleased him greatly; when the *Columbia* came in 1816, he purchased it and had it put around his house. The terms of trade having been arranged between Baránof and McTavish, the cargo was landed and the furs taken on board. Late September found them southward bound for Fort George.

In November, with a cargo of furs for the Canton market and a fine assortment of goods for the Spaniards in California, the *Columbia* sailed on her first voyage to China. En route she was to stop at Monterey and trade for provisions and furs. As the North West Company hoped to establish a permanent trade between California and Fort George, it was arranged that Mr. Duncan McDougall should go to Monterey and ask permission to remain there until the vessel returned from China. Opportunity would thus be afforded to observe and become acquainted with California's affairs, both political and economic.

At dawn on the 25th of November, 1814, they anchored in Monterey Bay about a quarter of a mile from the presidio. The ship's officers went on shore to report the vessel and were received with distinguished courtesy by the Spaniards; a military force of fifty horsemen was drawn up on the beach to receive them. Somewhat doubtful of the Spaniard's reception of a gun salute, the comandante of the presidio, Don José Estudillo, was asked if a salute from the ship would be answered; receiving an affirmative reply a salute of eleven guns was fired. This was returned with the same number from the presidio. Captain Robson and Mr. McDougall then went ashore and made a formal visit to the presidio. McDougall asked the comandante for permission to remain at Monterey, to collect provisions for the Company, while the schooner went to China; he also presented a petition to the Spanish authorities to establish a permanent trade between California and the Company's establishment on the Columbia River.⁴⁵

In the interval between the death of the Spanish governor Don José Arrillaga on July 24, 1814, and the arrival at Monterey of the new governor, Don Pablo Solá, August 30, 1815, Don José Argüello, the comandante of Santa Barbara and the senior officer in California, became the acting governor. As he remained at Santa Barbara instead of coming to Monterey the capital, it was necessary to send McDougall's request to him by courier. The petition to establish trade would of course be forwarded to the viceroy in Mexico. While awaiting the reply from Governor Argüello fresh beef and vegetables were sent to the ship every day; the officers and sailors were allowed to walk and ride around the town, and the Spanish grandes and their wives were entertained on board ship.

On Friday, December 16, Argüello's reply was received. It was as follows: The question of permanent trade would be referred to the viceroy, meanwhile, they could not allow any gentlemen to remain in California; the goods brought for barter could be landed; and, the comandante was to see to the collection of provisions while the ship continued her voyage to China. As a great favor the ship's cooper was allowed to remain to superintend the curing of the beef.⁴⁶ As these were the very best terms the Spaniards would grant the supply of goods was landed. It included bale goods, iron, sugar, tobacco, rum, etc. On the next day, eight sailors deserted.

43. *Ibid.*, 27.

44. Sitka, on Baranof Island, was the headquarters of the Russian American Fur Company. North of 56° the Russians dominated the fur trade. They visited the low-lying, endless islands known as the Aleutians; on the large ones they established trading posts, and seasonal hunters visited the smaller ones.

45. Corney, *Voyages*, 33.

46. *Ibid.*, 33.

As Argüello had suggested that McDougall might stay with the Russians while awaiting the return of the ship, the *Columbia* sailed for Fort Ross December 21.⁴⁷ They probably stopped at San Francisco on the way north, for they arrived at the fort on December 24. A fleet of *bidarkas* met them off shore, bringing presents of fresh meat and vegetables. One of them acted as pilot-boat and soon the schooner was safely anchored about a mile from Fort Ross. McDougall landed and called on Governor Kuskof, the Russian commander. His request to remain until the ship returned from Canton was refused, as Kuskof would not consent without permission from Baránof at Sitka. McDougall returned on board, and at daylight on Christmas morning they weighed and sailed westward for the Sandwich Islands.

Hawaii was sighted January 16, 1815. Natives visiting the ship informed them that Kamehameha was at the village of Kailua, towards which they sailed. Outrigger canoes filled with merry, laughing natives followed the ship. They offered hogs, vegetables, rope, and tapa cloth for trade. A chief woman was taken on board as pilot for the inter-island voyage. At midnight they anchored off the royal residence and saluted the king. Early the next morning, accompanied by the queens and the principal chiefs, Kamehameha visited the ship. With the notables on board, the king acting as pilot, the ship weighed and was towed close in shore by huge double canoes manned by natives. Very graciously the king gave McDougall permission to stay on the islands as long as he desired. His baggage, and that of another representative of the Company (probably McLennan) was sent on shore.⁴⁸ The king sent off supplies of hogs, fruit, vegetables, and some very good island rope, and that same night, January 18, they sailed for China.

A voyage of some seven weeks brought them to Macao. Three days were spent in threading the maze of Canton river craft, and on March 20 they anchored at Whampoa where they found Mr. Bethune and sixteen Sandwich Islanders who had been left there by

47. For nearly thirty years (1812-1840) the Russians occupied Ross, a stockaded fort built eighteen miles north of Bodega. Granaries, workshops, and huts for the Aleut fur hunters were built outside the stockade. On account of the lack of a good anchorage here, warehouses for the storage of goods were built at Bodega where the Russian ships wintered and made repairs. Cattle and farms were acquired, and articles of iron, wood, and leather were manufactured and sold to the Californians. Various trades were carried on at Fort Ross such as, tanning hides, making brick and tiles, barrels and kegs. Ship building began and four large vessels were constructed. Comfortable furniture, a piano, and even glass windows, made the place homelike as well as permanent. There were flowers in profusion and fine vegetable gardens. Khlebnikof says the vegetables were sometimes of prodigious size; one radish weighed 53 pounds, pumpkins averaged 60 pounds each, and one turnip weighed 13 pounds. N. V. Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York, 1929), 167-170; K. Khlebnikof, *Zapiski o Amerika*, Russian America, vol. III, pt. 4, p. 82, MS Translation in Bancroft Library.

48. Corney, *Voyages*, 36.

the *Isaac Todd*.⁴⁹ Eight days after they arrived at Whampoa Captain Robson, who was tired of the Northwest Coast and wished to return to England, arranged with Bethune to turn over the command of the vessel to Captain John Jennings who had been a passenger on the *Isaac Todd* from Hawaii to Canton.⁵⁰ The furs were lightered up river to Canton and disposed of, and April 28 the *Columbia* weighed from Whampoa for the Columbia River, anchoring there July 1.

A second trip to California was now made by the busy little schooner. She arrived at Monterey about the middle of July, 1815.⁵¹ The eight deserters left on her first visit were recovered, also four from the *Isaac Todd*.⁵² Meanwhile, an order had come from the viceroy directing the governor of California not to allow any trade except through the government officials, and, as far as possible, to prevent any contact of the ship's people with the residents of Monterey. Obeying this order: a guard was posted on the embarcadero to prevent smuggling; the Spaniards were forbidden to visit the ship; and the crew found themselves unwelcome on shore.⁵³ However, Argüello had asked the padres of the Franciscan Missions to contribute flour and other produce for trade with the *Columbia*, and a plentiful supply of all the country afforded was brought to Monterey.⁵⁴ The supercargo, Angus Bethune, found great quantities of provisions collected by the industrious cooper, left there on the first voyage to California. He had salted beef, and secured flour, beans, corn, pease, and tallow.⁵⁵ This tallow was in great demand at Fort George. When the California cattle were slaughtered (the *matanza*, or killing time, was about July 1 to October 1), the *manteca*, or fat lying between the ribs and the hide of the bullock, was carefully tried out apart from the interior fat, or *sebo*. The *manteca* was for domestic use and was considered superior to hog's lard. The fur traders used the *sebo* for making soap and candles. Both

49. *Ibid.*, 38.

50. *Ibid.*, 38.

51. There are three letters from Estudillo, the comandante at the presidio of Monterey, to the governor, regarding the *Columbia*. In the first, Monterey . . . 1815, he says that the *Columbia*, Captain Jennings, supercargo Angus Bethune, arrived yesterday and asked for provisions. In the second, July 18, 1815, he asks what disposition is to be made of the deserters of last year from the *Columbia* and the *Isaac Todd*; he has already returned nine men to Captain Jennings. In the third, Monterey, July 27, 1815, he assures the governor that the English captain has been informed that there must be no trading between the crew and the people of the presidio.

On July 18 Bethune wrote to the governor thanking him for the provisions furnished to the *Columbia*. Prov. St. Pap., MS, XIX, 398-399.

52. Corney, *Voyages*, 43.

53. *Ibid.*, 43.

54. *Archivo de Sta. Barbara, Papeles Miscelaneos*, MS, IX, 197-203.

55. *Archivo del Arzobispado, Cartas de los Misioneros*, MS, III, pt. 2, 62-63. The list of the provisions the missions were asked to supply for the North West Company vessel in 1816 included 45 arrobas of *manteca* (suet), and 456 arrobas of *sebo* (an inedible fat). An arroba was twenty-five pounds.

manteca and *sebo* were packed in huge *botas* (bags) made of raw-hide, each holding from twenty to forty *arrobas*.⁵⁶

In September the traders were back at the fort where they quickly discharged the California cargo and stowed away a fresh one for the Russians. Arrived at Sitka the trade with Baránof was soon made, and October 17 they left for Fort George where they anchored eight days later. The furs were sent on shore to be carefully repacked for the Canton market, and the middle of November the *Columbia* set off on her second voyage to China.

Early in December they were at Hawaii. On the morning of their arrival Kamehameha came on board bringing with him the two gentlemen of the Company who had spent the year on the islands (McDougall and McLennan). They had been treated royally by their native hosts; new houses were built for them and servants placed at their disposal; and the king provided everything they needed.

While they were at Hawaii the crew killed and salted a great quantity of pork. Daily the royal family and principal chiefs visited the ship, remaining till evening. As it was necessary to overhaul the ship and caulk the rigging they sailed to Oahu. Crowded with natives all eager to visit Oahu the ship arrived at that delectable island on December 16. The repair work being completed they weighed for China January 4, 1816.

At Whampoa, where they arrived in February, the vessel was measured for her port charges and Corney tells us: "The grand mandarin [hoppo] came on board to measure the vessel, and made the usual present of two lean bullocks, ten jars of sour stuff mis-named wine, and ten bags of something they call flour; they were not worth the trouble of taking on board, and I sold them to the comprador for two dozen geese."⁵⁷

After nearly two months in China the *Columbia* sailed on April 30, 1816, for the Aleutians where they traded with the Russian outposts on the various islands. Thick mists, contrary winds, and violent storms were encountered. July 17 they were off the Pribyloffs.⁵⁸ These two little islands way out in the icy wastes of Bering Sea

56. *Amatanza*, and the rendering of tallow for the trade, are described in W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), 36-37, 46-49.

57. Corney, *Voyages*, 49.

58. The seals of the Pribyloff herds are larger, their fur finer and more downy, gray with a silver shade, than those from the California waters. The fur-seal skins were carefully cleaned and scraped, stretched on wooden frames in pairs the fur sides together, and stored in drying rooms which were heated by stones. The prepared skins were packed in bales, fifty together. These, if not traded, were shipped from Sitka the following year and taken to Oikhotsk, from there they were forwarded to Kyakhta, the frontier station of the caravan trade to China. Khlebnikof, *Zapiski*, MS, vol III, pt. 4, 180-181.

were the summer resort of the immensely valuable fur-seal herds. All winter long their black rocks were deserted, stark and cold, but early spring brought the great heards to their summer rookeries. On each of the Pribyloffs the Russians had twelve men. Off the rock bound coast of St. George Island the Columbia dropped anchor. The surf pounded in tremendous breakers on the rocks; on the beaches were the vast rookeries where thousands of seals congregated. Here they secured 313 bales of the fur-seal skins.⁵⁹ Gull's eggs, salted ducks, and young sea-lions were traded for as food.

They were now homeward bound but bad weather forced them to remain several days in the fine harbor at Unalaska. Captain Jennings, Bethune, McDougall, and McLennan went on shore taking some rum as a present for the Russians. July 29 they left for the Columbia River.

As the vessel was to be overhauled and refitted the officers and men lived in tents on shore for several months during the repair work. Early in January, 1817, they set off for Hawaii. Pork was to be cured and as many of the Islanders were to be brought to Fort George as the vessel would accommodate. They touched at Kailua where the king was in residence and, as usual, the court visited the ship. The king promised them "all they wished for, that the islands afforded or he could command."

April 14 they took on board sixty natives for work on the Columbia River⁶⁰ and, with a huge supply of provisions, sailed for Sitka. In addition to the furs traded for with Baránof they secured some sea-otter skins that were smuggled on board by natives who eluded the vigilance of the Russians and visited the ship at night. Delayed by head winds and storms they arrived at the fort on June 12.

One month later the *Columbia* sailed on a coasting voyage to trade with the Indians of New Albion. This was a new venture in that region and did not prove a success.⁶¹ Storms drove them southward, and the heavy surf prevented the canoes coming off shore to the ship. The furs were scarce and the Indians were distinctly hostile.

The bowsprit of the *Columbia* being sprung they ran down to Bodega Bay for repairs. Captain Jennings spent two days at Ross hoping to dispose of the cargo to the Russians but they refused to

59. Corney, *Voyages*, 50. If each of the 313 bales had the usual Russian pack of fifty skins the trade at St. George Island alone was 15,650 prime seal skins. This is interesting if true.

60. Corney, *Voyages*, 73.

61. *Ibid.*, 77 et seq.

buy, although sending daily presents of fresh vegetables to the ship. The repairs being completed they set sail for the Farallones.⁶² On one of the larger islands they found about thirty Russians and Kodiaks. From the Farallones they sailed for Drake's Bay. Finding few Indians and no furs they continued northward. No Indians came off shore to trade although many villages were seen. From some Indians near Point St. George they secured several good sea-otter skins, trading one axe for each skin. Beating against the wind, with varying fortunes of calms and fogs, they arrived at Fort George in early October. It had been a fruitless quest for a new fur field.

After a sojourn of about a month on the Columbia River they again sailed for the Sandwich Islands, this time to sell the *Columbia*. If they were not successful at the Islands they were to go to Sitka and sell to the Russians. Six long twelve-pounders were added to the vessel's equipment to make her more desirable to Kamehameha. They arrived at Hawaii during a religious festival. Captain Jennings went on shore to see the king about selling the ship and was told to wait at Oahu until the festival was over, then the sale would be made.

December 24, 1817, the king's prime minister Kalaimoku (known as Pitt), accompanied by John Young and all the chiefs, came on board to inspect the vessel. They were impressed by the size of the big guns in the battery, and when several rounds of shot were fired they were elated by the great noise. The vessel was inspected and measured with the greatest care and found to be suitable to their needs.

The price agreed upon with Kalaimoku was: twice the full of the vessel in sandalwood, to be delivered in six months; possession of the vessel not to be given to the king until all the wood was delivered; meanwhile, the ship's people were to be furnished with provisions while they remained on the islands. The day following the sale was Christmas and Captain Jennings entertained all the chiefs and "respectable" white men on the island with a very grand dinner on shore.⁶³

While waiting for their fragrant cargo of sandalwood the vessel made several inter-island voyages to collect the King's taxes, and

62. From 1812 to 1840 the Russians maintained a small establishment at the Farallones for the purpose of securing fur-seals. These seals were smaller, and their fur coarser and blacker therefore less valuable, than those of the Pribyloff Islands. No trees grew on the Farallones nor was there any driftwood, and no water except occasional pools of rainwater in the winter. The hunters lived in earth huts, and five or six times a year *bidarkas* were sent from Fort Ross to carry wood and water to them, though they saved fuel by using oil-soaked bones for cooking. Khlebnikof, *Zapiski*, MS, vol. III, pt. 3, 233-234.

63. Corney, *Voyages*, 84.

invariably it was crowded with men, women, and children. At Hawaii the king came on board; at his approach all the natives jumped overboard and left the decks clear. Captain Jennings commenced firing a salute, but Kamehameha called out in a pleasant voice to stop. The powder was now his and he wanted it for other purposes (a charge was four pounds of powder)!

In March orders came to sail to Kauai for a cargo of sandal-wood. More than five hundred canoes were employed in bringing the wood from the shore to the ship. With a full lading they returned to Oahu. A second cargo was secured from the western side of Oahu in April. By the end of that month payment in full of two ship loads of sandalwood had been made and the wood stored at Honolulu for shipment to China.

On the second day of May in 1818 they hauled down the English colors and hoisted the Island flag, saluting it with seven guns. The ship was then formally given to Kalaimoku for the king. It was journey's end for the fur ship *Columbia*.

The Colonel Allan

In early June, 1816, the *Colonel Allan* arrived at Fort George with the stores from London for the Indian trade. A veil of mystery surrounds this ship. Alexander Ross, who was staff clerk at Fort George in 1816,⁶⁴ says she arrived at the fort a few days after the spring brigade came from the interior (June 7, 1816), and that shortly after her came another vessel from the same port, both heavily laden with trading goods. After a short stay at Fort George the *Colonel Allan* sailed for South America and California on a trading voyage and returned with a quantity of specie and other valuable commodities consigned to some of the London merchants. During the summer the commander of the vessel, Captain McLellan, assisted by Ross, spent about three weeks making a new survey of the bar and entrance of the river, and in August the *Colonel Allan* sailed for China with the *Columbia* furs and specie on board.⁶⁵

Uncertainties as well as inaccuracies appear in Ross's account. The unnamed vessel "from the same port [London]," may have been the first annual ship, due to arrive in 1816, sent from Boston under the agreement between the North West Company and the Perkins firm of Boston.

Davidson says that the *Colonel Allan* returned from Fort George to England, and later states "Some furs, presumably the

64. Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, II, 76.

65. Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855), I, 79.

property of the North West Company, were imported from the Columbia River to London in 1817. This is the only separate item of imports from the Columbia River during the existence of the North West Company.⁶⁶ The name of the vessel is not given. Was she the *Colonel Allan*?

Furthermore, concerning Ross's statements, it was not possible to make a trading trip to California and South America, and a three weeks survey of the river, between June 7 and an August sailing for China. However, as the Spanish records show that the *Colonel Allan* was at Monterey October 12, her departure from Fort George was probably in November.

While at Monterey the *Colonel Allan* traded with the Franciscan Missions. The California Archives record the arrival at Monterey on August 29, 1816, of the "*Allan*, Captain Mr. Daniels, supercargo D. Dunc McDougall," and her departure on October 12.⁶⁷ Although the viceroy had refused to allow the trade between California and the North West Company,⁶⁸ the splendid cargo and McDougall's persuasion, together with the destitution that pressed upon the troops and their families, led Governor Solá to permit trade in this instance. He requested the missions⁶⁹ to furnish flour and other produce and these supplies were bartered to the extent of \$6,796.⁷⁰ This sum does not necessarily represent the amount of trade with the vessel; as commerce with foreigners was prohibited the records would show only that for which the governor was responsible, and which was intended to supply the needs of the soldiers and their families.

The padres themselves were quite willing to evade regulations and engage in contraband business. They always spent freely from their ample stores of beaver and otter skins which they accumulated from the Californians and the Indians. Frequently they fitted out the boats and paid the hunters, or bought the skins from men not in their employ. The goods they secured from the vessels were not for their personal use, but most of them were sold to the rancheros and the proceeds devoted to the benefit of the missions. As the padres were superior traders, the missions fared extremely well.

The meagre facts gleaned from the accounts of the North West Company ships for 1816 suggest, but leave unanswered, the following questions: What vessel was sent by the Perkins firm of Boston

66. Davidson, *North West Company*, 166-167.

67. Prov. Rec. MS, IX, 144-150; *ibid.* XI, 40.

68. Prov. St. Pap., MS, XIX, 387-389.

69. *Archivo del Arzobispado*, MS, III, pt. 1, 62-63.

70. Prov. Rec. MS, IX, 149.

to bring the trading goods to Fort George for the year 1816? Did the *Colonel Allan* return to London from Fort George with a cargo of furs? How was the separate importation of furs from the Columbia River in 1817 (if they belonged to the North West Company) conveyed to England.

Possible answers to these questions are suggested as follows: The unnamed vessel, mentioned by Ross as arriving at Fort George in 1816, was the first annual ship sent by the Perkins firm to carry the furs of that year to Canton. The Chinese merchandise, for which these furs were bartered, was shipped to Boston and there disposed of by the Boston firm. The *Colonel Allan* secured specie in California, and "valuable commodities consigned to the London merchants." These commodities were probably furs for the Company, and hides and tallow for English houses connected with that commerce; with this lading she might sail for London. The furs of this mixed cargo may have been the separate item of imports from the Columbia River in 1817.

The Boston Ships

In 1815 the North West Company made a change in the conduct of the deep-sea shipments, and the fur sales in China. The commercial restrictions upon their trade in the Far East made the voyages expensive and unproductive. These regulations were of two kinds: first, the East India Company refused to permit the North West Company's ships to carry away tea and other Chinese produce in return for the furs sold at Canton; this deprived them of a return freight for the European markets, while the American ships, free to trade where they pleased, had the benefit of trade both ways, and by barter at Canton were able to get about twenty per cent more for their furs than the British could secure in specie;⁷¹ second, the duties and port charges in China were often heavy and were for the most part uncertain and determined by custom. They included import duties paid by the foreigners, and export duties paid by the co-hong merchants. Also there were measurement duties varying with the size of the ship, a cumshaw-tax which was the sum of a number of extra-legal fees and percentages given to various officials, and pilot's, linguist's, and comprador's fees.

To evade the restrictions of the East India Company, to lessen the expenses of the trade, and to secure the advantages of barter and a double turnover, the North West Company in 1815 entered into

71. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 38.

an agreement with the Boston firm of J. and T. H. Perkins. By this agreement the supplies of British manufactures required for the fur posts west of the Rocky Mountains were sent from England to Boston,⁷² whence the American firm dispatched an annual ship to convey them to the Columbia River, and to take the furs to Canton.

The American firm received for this service in lieu of freight, a joint and undivided interest of one-fourth part in the furs so shipped. These furs, thus owned by the Perkins firm and the North West Company, were to be sold in the Canton market and the proceeds remitted in Chinese merchandise which was to be sold for the joint account of themselves and the Canadian company, three-fourths of the net proceeds subsequently to be remitted to their foreign co-partners.⁷³

The sales, purchases, and shipments at Canton were to be transacted for a commission by another commercial house established there under the name of Perkins and Company⁷⁴ the membership of which was the same J. and T. H. Perkins of Boston and J. P. Cushing who resided at Canton for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Canton house.

Thus in 1815 the circuitous trade—England—Boston—Northwest Coast—Canton—Boston was established.

- 1816 The name of the first annual ship sent by the Perkins house in 1815, and due to arrive at Fort George in 1816, has not been traced. The unnamed vessel mentioned by Ross as coming soon after the *Colonel Allan* in 1816 may have been theirs.
- 1817 In the summer of 1817 the brig *Alexander* brought the English goods to the fort, and thence carried the furs to Canton.⁷⁵ She ran out of the Columbia River July 12, 1817. The *Columbia*, bound for New Albion on a coastal trading voyage, crossed the bar in her company.
- 1818 The *Levant*, commanded by Captain Cary, was the annual supply ship from Boston arriving at Fort George in 1818, and proceeding thence to Canton with the furs.⁷⁶ She touched at Honolulu August 23, and carried the information to Captain Jennings of the *Columbia* that the Company's establish-

72. Sturgis, "The North West Fur Trade," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XIV, 538.

73. *U.S. Senate Documents* (247), 24 Congress, 2 Session, Document 54. The Report of the Committee on Commerce on the Petition of J. and T. H. Perkins. pp. 1-15, *passim*.

74. The strange laws and customs of the Chinese led to the establishment of Boston mercantile houses at Canton in order to ease the way for American traders.

75. Corney, *Voyages*, 76.

76. *Ibid.*, 119.

- ment Fort George was to be given to the Americans. September 20 the *Levant* left Honolulu for Canton.⁷⁷
- 1819 No record has been found of the annual ship for this year.
- 1820 The *Levant* from Boston brought the annual supplies to Fort George. From there she left for Canton on May 25, 1820. She carried "13,414 Beaver, 860 Otter, 266 Beaver Coating, 6770 Muskrats, 259 Minks, 104 Foxes, 116 Fishers, and 37 Sea-otters."⁷⁸
- 1821 The *Alexander*, last of the annual Boston ships, brought the supplies to the Columbia in 1821 and thence carried the furs to Canton. This cargo of furs was sold by Perkins and Company of Canton and the proceeds reinvested in silks, teas, and nankeens to the amount of more than \$70,000 which were shipped for Boston in January, 1822, on board the ship *Mentor*. The *Mentor* arrived at the port of Boston in May, 1822, and the import duties paid to the United States government by J. and T. H. Perkins on this consignment of Chinese goods were over \$33,000.⁷⁹

The adventurous range of these fur ships in the interest of the North West Company was around both of the great southern capes, along the whole Pacific Coast of North America, among the endless Aleutian Islands of Bering Sea, to the Hawaiian Islands in the mid-Pacific, and to the greatest of world ports—Canton. The furs were agents in extending trade and navigation in all parts of the world. With the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821 the direct fur trade with China ceased and all the furs were brought to England in British ships. The great adventure that had covered the period 1813 to 1821 had ended.

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77. James Hunniwell, "Arrivals and Departures at Honolulu, December 1, 1817, to September 20, 1818," *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers*, No. 8, 17-18.

78. Davidson, *The North West Company*, Appendix O, 304.

79. *Sen. Docs.* (297), 24 Cong. 2 Sess. Doc. 54, *passim*.

SOME NOTES ON COOK'S AND VANCOUVER'S SHIPS, 1776-80, 1791-95

In March, 1778, Captain James Cook arrived at Nootka Sound in command of an exploring expedition consisting of two vessels H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Discovery*. In August, 1792, Captain George Vancouver anchored in that sound with his two exploring vessels, H.M.S. *Discovery* and *Chatham*. The name "Discovery" common to both expeditions has led some persons to conclude, hastily, that the ships were one and identical. And yet a moment's search would have shown the falsity of the surmise. Captain Cook says (*Voyage*, 1785 ed., vol. I, p. 2). "the Discovery of 300 tons burthen was purchased into the service," for the intended expedition; his third and last voyage; whilst in the Introduction to Vancouver's *Voyage* (1801 ed., vol. I, p. 44) it is stated that: "In the yard of Messrs. Randall and Brent, on the banks of the Thames, a vessel of 340 tons burthen was nearly finished; and as she would require but few alterations to make her in every respect fit for the purpose, she was purchased; and on her being launched, was named the *Discovery*."

Some information about these four historic vessels seems worthy of a place in our records. I have therefore compiled this short account and in so doing have made free use of Arthur Kitson's *Captain James Cook*, London, 1907, and Captain Walbran's *British Columbia Place Names*, supplemented by letters from the Secretary of Admiralty.

Captain Cook's Resolution

This vessel was built by Fishburn at Whitby and launched in July, 1770, as the *Marquis of Granby*. On 25th November, 1771, the Admiralty purchased her from Captain W. Hammond of Hull for £ 4,151, and named her the *Drake*. A month later by a subsequent order of the Admiralty that name was changed to *Resolution*. She was officially known as a sloop—that is a sloop-of-war. This classification had nothing to do with her rig, but related to her armament. She was ship-rigged, of 462 tons burthen, 110 feet long and 30 feet broad. She carried twelve 6-pounder guns and twelve swivels; her normal complement was 50 men. Zimmermann, however, says that under Captain Cook she had 112 men and sixteen guns; but the muster roll, as given in Kitson's *Captain James Cook*, names only 108 men, including twenty marines. Her first commission was as the flag-ship on Captain Cook's second voyage, 1772-1774. She was also the flag-ship on Cook's third voyage,

1776-1780. Zimmermann calls her "the old Resolution." After her return in 1780, she was in January, 1781, fitted as an armed transport. On January 9, 1782, whilst a part of Admiral Saffren's squadron in the East Indies, she was captured by the French. Though efforts have been made to ascertain it, her subsequent story is at present unknown.

Captain Cook's Discovery

This vessel was built by Messrs. Langborne of Whitby in 1774, and purchased by the Admiralty early in 1776 from Mr. W. Herbert of Scarborough for £ 2,450. Kitson says (p. 47) that the Admiralty records give her tonnage as 229; but Cook states that she was of 300 tons burthen, and this corresponds with the Secretary's letter. She is classed as a sloop-of-war; her rig was that of a ship. She carried eight guns and eighty men, including marines. She returned to England in October, 1780, and in the following December was made a store carrier. In 1797, she was condemned and broken up.

Captain Vancouver's Discovery

This ship was built in 1789 by Randall and Brent at their yard on the Thames. She was purchased by the Admiralty and commissioned 1st January, 1790, for a voyage to the Northwest Coast under Captain Henry Roberts. Upon the outbreak of the Nootka trouble the expedition was temporarily abandoned; but when that difficulty was settled she was re-commissioned under Captain George Vancouver. She was of 340 tons burthen and, though called a sloop-of-war (a term which has already been explained) was ship-rigged, and mounted ten 4-pounders and ten swivels. After the return of the expedition in September, 1795, she was transformed into a bomb vessel, and as such was one of the seven that were anchored in the Middle Ground off Copenhagen, where on that terrible, but glorious, April day of 1801 she did her bit in the celebrated battle, which broke the League of Northern Powers. About 1776 the practice re-commenced of using old, unseaworthy vessels as prison ships. So the *Discovery*, which had explored the coast from Cape Flattery northward, became in 1808 one of those hulks, familiar to all readers of Dickens' *Great Expectations*. One of the plates in E. W. Cooke's *Shipping and Craft*, published in London in 1829 shows the *Discovery* as a convict ship. By a curious error the author identifies her as Captain Cook's *Discovery*, instead of, as she was, Captain Vancouver's *Discovery*. After twenty-six years in

this service the *Discovery*, then forty-five years old, was in 1834 broken up at Deptford.

Captain Vancouver's Chatham

The *Chatham* is a vessel about which little is known. She was built at Dover in 1788 and brought into the Navy. Vancouver (*Voyage*, 1801 ed., vol. I, pp. 49 f) describes her as an armed tender, mounting four 3-pounder guns and six swivels; of 135 tons burthen, and sheathed with copper. She was rigged as a brig, and carried a crew of fifty-five men, all told. She remained in the Navy until 1830 when she was sold out of the service.

F. W. HOWAY

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM MOORE

(Continued from Vol. XXI., page 203.)
Flat Boating to Omineca

In March, 1872, Captain William Moore with his three sons took passage on the Steamer *Otter* for the mouth of Skeena River. On arriving there they found a new place had been built called Port Essington. The Hudson's Bay Company had one store, Mr. Feak manager and there was one other store owned by a Mr. Cunningham. Moore and his sons at once went to work, building two barges with a capacity of fifteen tons each. After completing them they employed twelve coast natives as crew for each barge, twenty-four in all, and hired two canoes with six natives to each one. They then loaded barges and canoes and started up the Skeena River. Moore, Senior, took charge of one barge, his son W. D. Moore took charge of the other. On getting to Kitselas Canyon they ran a line as far as it would reach. They, having a capstan on the first barge, would heave her up to the head of the line leaving a line with the second barge so they could heave her up with the capstan. This was done on all the rapids that they could not tow up by hand.

There were about forty natives at this place waiting for the salmon to come up stream. They had not left this place very long when they were met by a canoe with T. Hankin aboard of her who stopped and told them that miners who had gone up the river sometime previous had camped close to Kitsegoogler Village and neglected to put out their fire which scattered along the ground and timber, destroying the whole winter village, and that several shots were fired at him as he was passing through the canyon which is close to the village, and that about twenty-five miners who were well armed got up through the Canyon with their canoes but there was one white man killed and two wounded. They thought that several natives had been killed, and that when he got to Essington he would go up to Metlaktla which is about twenty-five miles north of Essington and report to Mr. Duncan, the Missionary, who held the office of justice of the peace. He told Moore that he would have trouble if he ventured to go up. However, Moore and his sons went up on their way.

On coming to Kitwanger (Kitwanga?), a village of about 100 natives, he concluded to lay over for a while. In a few days Mr. Brown and a number of native policemen were sent by Mr. Duncan

from Metlakatla to interview the natives, "Sticks" as they were called by the coast natives, about the burning of their village.

Captain Moore and his sons started up again the next day. A couple of days after, they met Mr. Brown. He had induced three of the important chiefs to go with him to interview Mr. Duncan. On seeing Moore's barges they wished to return but Mr. Brown and the native policemen held them from doing so, and took them on down the river. Mr. Brown had told them that they would be paid for their village. Moore and his sons proceeded up the river. On arriving at Kitsegoogler Canyon, which is a bad place, twelve miners having been drowned there the fall before, their canoe, having no ribs, split and let them all into the water. They perceived 60 or 70 natives sitting with their blankets around them, not a woman or child in sight.

Moore's coast natives, who were composed of Hydahs, Tongas, and Tsimpseans, told him that he and his sons were liable to get killed and these "Sticks" did not like the coast natives either. Moore told his crew that they must stand by him, that the Hudson's Bay Company would pay them to take care of their goods. The natives said they would but they could do nothing without guns. Moore at once ordered them to open four cases of muskets and ammunition which they did at once, so the thirty-six of the crew were pretty well armed. Moore and his sons had two Henry rifles and two revolvers. They then began towing up. On getting abreast of the Kitsegooglers (called "Sticks" because they live in the woods), two natives came down close to them and said they wished to talk. Moore stood on the barge, and the natives said: "We will not let you go up unless you pay." Moore answered he could not as the goods did not belong to him but he was sure the Government would pay them for their village. The "Sticks" answered; "If you try to go farther we will fight."

Moore told them he would go, and if the "Sticks" did harm to him or his crew, their chiefs who had gone to the coast would not be allowed to come to their home again. Moore would never have got through if the chiefs had been there. He then ordered his crew to proceed. It took that day and the next to heave both barges through the canyon, having to sleep one night among the "Sticks" who were walking around the whole night with their guns. It was galling to them to see all these goods get past them. Close watch was kept by the armed crew.

They arrived safely at Hazelton, where they found that the two

men had driven the horses from where they had wintered in good shape, even with no hay or grain the whole winter. There was not more than two feet of snow and they procured their own feed.

J. W. Moore worked with the two men operating the pack train over the Babeen Portage, while Moore, Senior, and his two sons, W. D. and Henry, started down the Skeena for another load. As they passed through Kitsegoogler, several shots were fired at them, one taking effect in the fleshy part of the leg of a member of the crew. Another struck the steering oar, six inches from Moore's hand. One of the crew grabbed Moore's rifle and fired several shots but could not tell if they had hit any one. The river began to rise very fast as the yearly freshets were on the current and were very swift. It took most of their attention to manage their barges.

On arriving at Port Essington the Steamer *Otter* was in port. There was also an English gun-boat at Metlakatla which took the three chiefs to Victoria. Moore loaded up and made another trip. In going through the Kitsegoogler there was not one "Stick" native. They had heard of the man-of-war at Essington so took their families back into the woods, not to be seen.

When Moore got back to Essington the gun-boat had got back from Victoria and had settled with the chiefs. They appeared satisfied but the \$1000 they got was a very small amount. They must have lost at least five times that amount. The chiefs went back up to their homes and did not molest any one that season.

Captain Moore and his sons made one more trip to Hazelton and it was arranged for the two men and J. W. Moore to drive the animals over the Indian trail from Skeena River to the Nass River which empties into Observatory Inlet. Moore with his two sons went down the Skeena River with their barges. A little above tide-water they camped for the night at what was called "Mumford's Landing." This was as high up the Skeena River¹ as the stern wheel steamer *Mumford* got, as she was a heavy built boat. She had been operated by the Western Union Telegraph Company in the years 1865 to 1867.

On arriving at Essington, Captain Moore took the centerboard schonner and started up the coast to Nass River to bring the animals to a place ten miles south of Essington, in Grenville Channel, to winter them there. They sailed up Chatham Sound and thence

¹ The Skeena River is one of the worst of the swift water rivers of the North to navigate. It has rapids with whirlpools that are said to hold a steamer in the suction for a time, or will take logs down in the vortex at its strongest force. It was called the Simpson River by the Hudson's Bay Company in early years.

up Observatory Inlet. In going up this Inlet they encountered a strong head wind and concluded to go into a bight to anchor on the Alaska shore. There they remained three days. While there, W. D. Moore went ashore and succeeded in killing two deer which were very fat and fine eating. All went ashore and their father said: "Now you are in Alaska for the first time as the thirty mile strip runs along this part of the coast."

The wind shifted so they could get under way and several hours afterwards they passed a mission kept by an Episcopal Minister, named Tomilson, at the mouth of Nass River. They proceeded up a few miles above tidewater to a native village and there they saw J. W. Moore and twenty-four animals. They had some trouble with the Kitwanger natives who wanted them to pay for going over their trail. He not having any means with him, tried to talk them out of it, but when he wished to start the next morning he found two of the animals dead. The "Stick" Indians had killed them.

There were too many of the "Sticks" for the three men so they watched closely and got away from them. They then loaded the animals on the schooner, went as far as the mouth of the river and waited there at a village until a favorable wind blew. They bought over a ton of potatoes from the natives for \$25.00 and fine potatoes they were. Also four boxes of oolachan oil. These oolachan sometimes called candle-fish, run up the Nass River in great quantities during three weeks in the spring of the year. The natives had great quantities of dried salmon that they had caught during the summer months.

They loaded the animals on the barge and started down the Inlet. Late in the evening they arrived at Port Simpson, a Hudson's Bay Company post, managed by Mr. Hall. There was a native village here of nearly 250 people. They laid over a night and let the animals ashore to feed. The grass is good at all the villages. The afternoon of the next day they proceeded to Metlakatla, a mission in charge of an Episcopal Missionary named Duncan.² On arriving close to the beach they were met by a native policeman who would not let them land, and enquired what their business was. Moore told them he wished to remain over night and probably the next day to let the animals feed, this being a good harbor. The natives told him they would see if Mr. Duncan would allow it. They came back in a short time with Mr. Duncan's consent, and asked for Moore and his sons to pay him a visit when they had the time. In

² This is the Dr. William Duncan who transferred his colony from old Metlakatla in B.C. to Anette Island in Alaska in 1888, to what is now called New Metlakatla.

the evening Moore and his sons called on Mr. Duncan who treated them very nicely, telling Moore he could remain as long as he wished. They spent a very enjoyable evening. The next day they were shown over the whole place by a couple of well dressed natives who were very well educated. The village was built on a high bank facing the bay in a right angle shape. The church seats 600 people, the store and meeting or council houses were in the center while the building Mr. Duncan occupied was opposite. There were at this time 500 people there, all followers of Mr. Duncan.

They got under way, passed Kitsen Island where three white men were murdered by the "Kitkala" natives, who lived on an Island a few miles to the south and west of there. They passed the mouth of the Skeena River, Woodcock's place, but did not stop and about fifteen miles below came to the place which Moore had selected to winter the animals. There was a lagoon there. They sailed the schooner in on the high tide and put the animals ashore.

W. D. and H. M. Moore sailed the schooner up to Essington with one man and their father who would go to Victoria.

Going to the Cassiar

On return of the Steamer *Otter* they received a letter from their father in Victoria, informing them of a gold strike being made by McCullough and Thibert the season before on the bars of De-loire River, which empties into the Mackenzie River, and for them to go to Port Essington and prepare the schooner and one of the small barges. He would come up on the next steamer that would leave Victoria, in March. W. D., his brother, and Elie did so, and were all ready when Moore, Senior, arrived with a summer's provisions. Elie Harrison stopped at Essington. Moore and his sons lost no time in getting away from Essington. It was March, 1873, when they got started with one small barge in tow of the schooner. They were fortunate to have favorable winds which carried them up Chatham Sound and across Dixon's Entrance as far as Tongas Narrows. They came to anchor as the schooner could not make headway against the wind with the barge in tow. They saw quite a number of deer there. They made three mistakes by taking the wrong channels. However, considering the towing of a barge, almost as big as the schooner, they did very well, arriving at Fort Wrangel, Alaska, the 4th of April. This is about 200 miles north of Essington, B.C.

The Steamer *Otter* had been at Wrangel and landed goods at

that place for the Hudson's Bay Company post, which was situated seventy-five miles up the Stikine River. A. Choquette,³ known as "Buck," was in charge of the post and was loading goods into canoes manned by natives to transport them to that place. The mouth of the Stikine is about eight miles from Wrangel.

There were only three white residents at Wrangel, Charles Brown, store-keeper, Mr. Dennis, customs officer, and W. K. Lear, storekeeper. Lear occupied the barracks, built by the United States Army shortly after the purchase of Alaska and occupied by a company of soldiers for a short time. Moore, Senior, remarked: "It does not seem to be half the natives here as there were in 1862."

They were told of McCullough having froze to death a short distance up the Stikine in February. Henry Thibert was joined by Tifair and Loozon, both Frenchmen, and kept on their way up the Stikine, hauling their handsleds.

Moore and his sons hauled the schooner up on the beach, and left her in charge of a native chief.⁴ This chief's house was built on the ground where the Russians had their stockade. You could see the ends of the logs sticking in the ground. They then got the small barge in readiness, poles, oars, and sail, employed two natives who would help them up the Stikine River and also pack over the portage. George, and his brother, Bill Rath, Bill Waldroun, Bill and his brother Dick Lyons joined the Moore party on the barge. They wrote letters to their mother in Victoria and left Wrangel on the 20th of April.

The second day from Wrangel they passed the place where McCullough had been frozen to death. Two days after, they camped at the Hot Springs. They all took a bath and washed up their clothes. On the opposite side of the river is a large glacier running from the mountains, its nose spread out for seven or eight miles, about 150 yards to a quarter of a mile back and along the river. About thiry miles farther up, they stopped a while at the Hudson's Bay Post. It is situated in the coast range of mountains and is in Canadian territory. There was still four to six feet of snow along the bank of the river. Buck told them the snow gets as deep as seventeen feet at this place some winters. Large quantities of cottonwood, spruce and willow grow along the banks. They passed another large glacier, some distance up the river. When they got

³ "Buck" Choquette was the discoverer of gold on the Stikine in 1862.

⁴ This must have been the house of Chief Shakes, whose house still stands on the island by the sawmill where the Russian Redoubt St. Dionysius stood and on the site afterward occupied by Fort Stikine of the Hudson's Bay Company. Some of the stubs of the stockade were standing in 1915. (CLA.)

through the canyon, being through the coast range mountains, everything was changed. The air was warmer, the grass was growing, and cottonwoods were budding.

About thirty-five miles farther, Moore pointed out the place where he landed in 1862 with his steamer, the *Flying Dutchman*. About three miles further up they passed a Frenchman, Collins by name, mining with sluices on the bank of the river. He had been there since 1861. In about ten miles they stopped with Miller, commonly called "Buckskin." He had a trading post and made a trip every summer for supplies which he transported up the river in canoes towed and poled by natives. There were two more white men there who were working for Miller. Bill Whig was another 1861 man. Ned Casey was an ex-United States soldier who had deserted the United States post at Wrangel. Every one of these men had native women for wives and from one to six children. Miller, also Collins, had just got their gardens planted. They raised potatoes, turnips, cabbage, etc., in plenty for their own use.

Captain Moore and his party were twelve days towing their barge up against the strong current, using poles, oars, sails and tow-line, to Telegraph Creek. This place was named by the Western Union Telegraph Line explorers in 1866 and is 160 miles from Fort Wrangel.

On reaching Telegraph Creek they had to stop, as the Stikine River is not navigable for any kind of craft above this point. They put up their goods so that there would be four packs for each man, caching two packs at Telegraph Creek. They took the barge back to Miller's place with the remainder of their goods for safe keeping.

They then walked back up the old Indian trail to Telegraph Creek and started in to pack on their backs, taking a pack one half of a mile or a full mile, and coming back after the other. They had a hard hill to climb right on the start. The trail followed the right limit of the river, along which grew scrub spruce, pine, and birch. There were a number of steep gulches encountered which they had to negotiate. In some places the trail was on the side of a mountain which was very steep. If a person slipped he would fall into the river below. After following the river for about ten miles, the trail swung toward the north. About five miles from the river and about fifteen miles from Telegraph Creek, they came to a stream called the North Fork,⁵ which they crossed on an Indian made bridge. The bridge was constructed of poles and bound to-

⁵ Now called Tahltan River on the map of Int. Dept. Can. 1898.

gether with withes. It was strongly made although there were no nails used in putting it together. The span was about seventy-five feet and it had considerable swing when one was crossing it. After traveling about ten miles they came to another stream called the Second North Fork.⁶ Here they found another Indian made bridge, with a span of forty feet. It looked too old and not strong enough to cross on, and as the water under it was a turbulent torrent, they decided that they would not venture on it, but would look for a safer place to cross. They went up the stream about half a mile, where they found a good place to build a bridge and plenty of timber close by. In four days they built the bridge and crossed over.

The trail from here on led through a comparatively level country, but was bad for walking, being of a swampy nature, carpeted with moss that their feet sank into, and containing many obstacles, such as fallen timber, scrub brush, etc. None of them had done such hard work before, but the young fellows would be well rested every morning. Every one thought Henry would not take the load through. They told him he was taking too much. He was only fourteen years old. One of his packs was not heavy but it was an awkward one, as it was the long whipsaw and other tools. They were making about four to five miles a day. That meant they traveled about eight or ten miles with a pack and four or five miles without it. One of their camps they named Caribou as there were many caribou tracks there.

It took twenty-eight days to reach Dease Lake from Miller's. They rested one day, cached their goods safely, took three day's food and no blankets, just the shotgun and rifle, and went back for the remainder of their goods. They reached Miller's house the third day. They then got the two packs ready. The two natives wished to quit, but Miller who could talk their tongue, urged them to finish with their contract. They consented to do so. Moore was very glad as they were a great help. Moore and his sons could talk "Chinook," but the men could only talk a few words of that jargon and a few words in English. It was hard to make them understand, but they were good men all right.

After they got across the Second North Fork they met a party of fifteen natives and their families, called "Sticks" by the coast natives. Their fishing ground and village were on the First North Fork. The village is called "Taltan." They had loads of fur on their backs. Their dogs were also packed. Moore's outfit were

⁶ Now called the Tuya, or Second North Fork.

just making camp, they always had both packs in at camp every night. The natives set down their packs and began talking pretty loud to Moore's two natives. They could not interpret very well but anyway Moore's party got onto what they wanted. The natives said the whites would scare all their game away, etc., and that they would not let the whites go any farther into their country.

Moore and the Lyons and Rath party saw that they had to stand pat and make the natives know that they would go. The natives began to cool down a bit. The whites saw at once they had the upper hand as the natives had their families with them. The whites deliberately took their rifles, three in number, two shotguns and three pistols, which they at once proceeded to load. The rifles were the old Henry repeating ones. At this the natives began to cool off more and pointed to their wives and children. The whites understood what they meant all right. So the natives began to talk sensibly and said; "You whites ought to pay us something for going over our trail and bridges." The white men that they had seen on a lake had given them some provisions. The Moore, Lyons and Rath party agreed to give them twenty dollars but would not give any provisions, only for their supper. This was agreed on.

The natives then explained where they saw the three white men. They made motions by taking up a handful of small particles from the ground and scattering them about, then picking them up again, making the whites understand it was gold they were picking up again. The head man undid the rag and showed the whites some gold, about ten or fifteen dollars worth, that the three white men had given them. These men were Thibert, Tifair, and Loozon, and they were on a creek putting into Dease Lake.⁷

This was good news to the whites as it showed plainly that Thibert and party had struck it good. It put heart into the party and they worked hard getting to Dease Lake. In twenty days from the time they started from Miller's, although their packs were a little heavier than their first loads, they reached the Lake. They lost no time in getting rafts made to get on down the Lake. The two natives were paid off, at the rate of \$50 apiece, then they went back taking from the party letters to Mrs. Moore and others in Victoria.

They loaded their goods on their rafts and poled and pulled along the shore. They were three days making the foot of the lake

⁷ Dease Lake was named for Peter Warren Dease, who was one of the first to reach Point Barrow, Alaska, in 1837, while exploring for the Hudson's Bay Company.

which is about thirty miles long, being sixty-two days from Fort Wrangel, and about two hundred and sixty-two miles.

On the way to Dease Lake they saw the remains of an old Hudson's Bay Post,⁸ which had been built by P. W. Dease, Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the year about 1840. This post was destroyed by the coast natives. The occupants made their escape down the lake and down the Deloire.

These waters flow into the Mackenzie River, thence to the Arctic Ocean. Moore and his sons and the others stopped at the mouth of the creek putting into the lake. They saw a new boat and an old camp here.

C. L. ANDREWS

(*To be continued*)

⁸ Morice says: "It may suffice for our purpose to remark that in 1838, R. Campbell, a young Hudson's Bay Company officer, hailing from the east, having crossed the Rocky Mountains, started a post on a sheet of water called Dease Lake, four years earlier by the discoverer, John M. McLeod. See *History British Columbia*, p. 203.

THE NORTH IDAHO ANNEXATION ISSUE

(Continued from Vol. XXI., page 217.)

"Mr. Speaker, I desire to say but little on this question. This pan-handle of Idaho, about which there has been so much talk, has been a bone of contention for the last twenty years. . . . A large majority of the people living in that part of the territory have wanted annexation to Washington Territory. There is no doubt about that fact in my mind. The people of the southern portion of Idaho, however, have objected to it until the last two years. Up to that time, their objection was a serious one. Three years ago last fall, the people of the north were so embittered against the people of the south because they could not be annexed, that both political parties in these northern counties refused to participate in the territorial conventions. They called an independent convention for the purpose of nominating a man to run on the annexation question, with a view of sending him to Washington city to work for the annexation of these counties to Washington Territory, whether he was elected or not. But the Republican candidate⁴³ was a little sharper than the Democratic candidate, and he rushed up north and pledged himself to go for annexation,⁴⁴ and they took him for their candidate, with the understanding down south, I am told on good authority, that he did not intend to work very hard for it.

"However, he secured almost the unanimous vote⁴⁵ of these northern counties and was elected. But although he was elected he did not secure their annexation. At the recent election, or rather at the conventions which preceded the election, the Republicans placed a section in their platform,⁴⁶ pledging their party to do all in their power to secure the annexation, and their delegate was pledged to do whatever was in his power, if elected, to annex these northern counties to Washington Territory. The Democratic party took the matter under advisement, talked it over, and after some

43 Theodore F. Singiser. For eighteen years the delegates representing Idaho were Democrats. Then Singiser, a Republican, represented Idaho in the 48th Congress. He was succeeded by Hailey, a Democrat.

44 The Republican nominee for delegate from Idaho, in a speech to the annexation convention, held at Lewiston, said: "If I am elected to congress, I shall and will use my utmost endeavors to secure for you the full fruition of your hopes. I will cordially co-operate with Mr. Brentz of Washington, to secure your annexation when Washington is admitted. I will do my utmost in congress, before its committees, and before the departments of government, to secure the success of your measure of annexation. I pledge myself, fully, freely, and unequivocally to aid in securing for you, annexation to Washington, where, from your geographical situation, you properly belong, when it is admitted into the Union."—*The Teller*, Oct. 19, 1882.

45 Nez Perce county gave Singiser 1060 and Ainslie 40.

46 Resolved, That the wishes of the people of North Idaho in regard to annexation to Washington Territory should be faithfully and justly represented. It is a question of local importance with the people of that section, and demands recognition and support in proportion to the unanimity of their expression of that subject.

consideration of the subject, concluded that they would also put the same plank in their platform,⁴⁷ or substantially the same thing, favoring this annexation. I gave them due notice that if the plank was inserted in the platform and they nominated me, that if elected I would try to give this portion of the territory away to Washington Territory.

"I now propose to keep good the pledges made by my party and myself by trying to have them annexed to Washington Territory. They have expressed a desire to go to Washington and I do not propose to keep them from going; they have been very troublesome. I hope the bill will pass to annex them to Washington Territory, because we can get along very well without them. It has been clearly understood for years that the people of these counties themselves wanted to be annexed to Washington Territory. The legislature in 1885 passed a memorial requesting that these counties be annexed to Washington, but with the proviso that they should pay their portion of the debt of the territory just as this bill provides...."

The crisis in the cause of northern Idaho came in the forty-ninth Congress, 1885-1887. The determination of the people in the Panhandle had so shaken the political stability of the parties in Idaho that first the Republican and then the Democratic platforms adopted in the state conventions had declared in favor of the division of the territory. But the most striking testimony to the exigencies of the situation came from the Idaho legislature itself. In the session of 1884-1885 a memorial to Congress favoring in unqualified terms the separation of the northern counties was adopted by a vote of 9 to 3 by the council and 20 to 4 by the representatives. The memorial⁴⁸ declared that the political union of the north and south areas of Idaho was impracticable. "Socially, commercially, and geographically they never can be united." The boundary suggested by the legislature was the Salmon river range of mountains.

The law-making body of the territory had spoken; both political parties had formally given their assent; it seemed likely that the way was now smoothed for rectification of what so many regarded as the mistake that had been made in 1863.

Two bills were introduced into the forty-ninth Congress to sat-

⁴⁷ *Resolved*, That we recognize the full right, justness, and importance, and final result of the claim of our citizens of northern Idaho in their annexation views; and here, in open convention, backed by an honest Democracy, we pledge to our northern neighbors a willingness and cooperation on our part to accede to their wishes on this proposition in a mutuality of feeling that shall bind us together fraternally now and sow the seeds of eternal friendship when the separation may come; and we ask our northern friends to accept this pledge in the honesty of its intention and with the full assurance that it is based upon the promise of a permanent resident political organization and not the imported vibrations of homeless, faithless, wandering political mendicants.

⁴⁸ *Congressional Record*, 49th Congress, 1st session, p. 1706.

isfy the aspirations of Washington Territory and northern Idaho. One of these (S.B. 67) was introduced by Senator Dolph of Oregon, and provided for the admission of Washington to the Union with northern Idaho annexed. The other was introduced by Delegate Voorhees of Washington (H.B. 2889) and had for its sole object the annexation of the Panhandle strip to Washington Territory. Both bills proposed the same line of division:

"Commencing at a point in the middle of the main channel of Snake river due west of the headwaters of Rabbit creek;⁴⁹ thence due east to the headwaters of Rabbit creek; thence down the middle of said Rabbit creek to its junction with Salmon river; thence up the middle of said Salmon river to the junction of Horse creek; thence up the middle of said Horse creek to the junction of the East Fork of said creek; thence up the middle of East Fork of Horse creek to the crest of the Bitterroot range of Mountains."

Senate bill 67 passed the Senate by a vote of 30 yeas to 13 nays on April 10, 1886; three days later it was introduced into the House of Representatives and was referred to the Committee on Territories. It was not the policy of the Democrats to admit a state that quite obviously would be Republican, and the bill remained with the committee until January 20, 1887, when it was reported favorably and ordered printed. No further action ensued and Washington did not attain statehood until 1889.

The Voorhees bill almost achieved the goal for which northern Idaho had struggled so long. It was introduced January 7, 1886, and referred to the Committee on Territories, which reported favorably February 3rd,⁵⁰ and on the 23rd of the same month, the

⁴⁹ It appears on present-day maps as Rapid River. It is Rabbit Creek on Symon's 1885 map of the Military Department of the Columbia. It rises on the east slopes of the Seven Devils range and flows into the Little Salmon about six miles south of the confluence of the Little Salmon and the Salmon rivers.

⁵⁰ The Committee on the Territories, to Whom was Referred the Bill, (H.R. 2889) to Annex a Portion of Idaho to Washington Territory, Make the Following Report:

It appears that that portion of Idaho, the annexation of which to Washington Territory is contemplated, cast a vote of 2,788 on November 4, 1884, indicating, at a ratio of population to vote, 4.7, a population of 13,103. These people are almost wholly isolated from the southern portion of the territory by the Salmon River range of mountains, which are exceedingly rugged and precipitous in their character. The construction of a wagon road across these mountains from north to south has, thus far, been regarded as wholly impracticable, so that at this time the sole direct means of communication between the two sections consist of a primitive Indian trail. During six months of the year this trail affords facilities alone to those who are expert in the use of snow-shoes. Under the most favorable conditions, pack-animals alone furnish any means of direct communication.

Because of the natural barriers indicated, a journey from any portion of northern Idaho to Boise City, the capital, is a very tedious and expensive affair. The distance across the mountains ranges from 200 to 400 miles, while the distance necessary to be traveled ranges from 400 to 600 miles, the route being a very circuitous one, through the Territory of Washington and the State of Oregon. For these reasons there are practically no commercial relations between these sections of Idaho, while on the other hand, the northern section is so situated with reference to Washington Territory as to make their interests—social, political and commercial—identical.

In 1873 the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory memorialized Congress for the annexation of northern Idaho, as contemplated in the proposed legislation. In the winter of 1884-85, the legislative assembly of Idaho passed a similar memorial, and

measure came before the House. An interesting debate⁵¹ occurred in which Voorhees championed his measure and John Hailey, delegate from Idaho, made the remarks already quoted, while Hill of Ohio was critical of the sincerity of the annexationists. Delegate Joseph Toole of Montana argued in favor of assigning to Montana that portion of the Panhandle north of the forty-seventh parallel on the ground that it was mining country and its needs would be better taken care of by Montana than by Washington, which was predominantly agricultural. The discovery of gold in the Coeur d'Alenes in 1883 had been followed by the development of large silver-lead deposits and a numerous mining population, many of whom had come from the mining areas of Montana, had settled in eastern Shoshone county.

The bill passed without a roll call; was transmitted to the Senate, and on February 25, 1886, was referred to the Senate Committee on Territories. Here it lay for a year and was then reported favorably. On March 1, 1887, it was considered, some minor amendments made, and passed likewise without roll call. The House concurred in the Senate amendments and the bill having been approved by both houses, was sent to the President. The forty-ninth Congress came to an end March 3, and as President Cleveland did not act on the measure within the constitutional ten day period, it consequently failed to become a law.

We know little or nothing regarding the reasons for President Cleveland's position in the matter. A persistent rumor to the effect that Governor Edward A. Stevenson⁵² had strongly advised against the division, and that his opinion had caused the President to let the bill die, made its appearance in the newspapers at the time and has come down to the present as the most likely explanation. Governor Stevenson was President Cleveland's appointee, and the President may have looked upon him as less likely to be influenced by current political opinion than the elected officials.

during the last campaign the platforms of both political parties, in both Territories, declared in favor of said annexation, indicating an almost unanimous sentiment on the part of the people of both Territories favorable to the enactment of the proposed law.

In response to the manifest necessities of the case, and in deference to the clearly expressed wishes of the people of both Washington and Idaho Territories, your committee recommended the passage of the accompanying bill.

⁵¹ *Congressional Record*, 49th Congress, 1st session, pages 1706-1710.

⁵² Edward A. Stevenson was born in New York, but spent most of his life in the West. He resided a number of years in California and moved from that state to Idaho in 1864. He lived in the Boise country until his death in 1896. He was a prominent figure in Idaho and was active in business, fraternal, and political affairs. He was speaker of the House in the eighth territorial legislature and a member of the council in the ninth legislature. His appointment as governor of Idaho was in line with President Cleveland's wish to appoint a resident as territorial governor rather than a person from outside the territory. According to James H. Hawley, his appointment was secured by John Hailey, territorial delegate, and a fellow Democrat. In 1894 he was the Democratic candidate for governor but was defeated by W. J. McConnell, his Republican opponent.

In a recent article in the *Idaho Statesman*⁵³ ex-Senator Dubois says that he was in Washington in March, 1887, as the delegate-elect of Idaho and Colonel Shoup and other men from Idaho, urged him to try to persuade the president not to sign the bill. This Dubois declined to do, as he had promised not to interfere in the matter before the end of the forty-ninth Congress. Dubois goes on to state that "Governor Stevenson and a number of the leading members of his party, sent the president a long telegram. This stated that the people of Idaho had evidently changed their minds in regard to annexation, which they asserted was shown by the fact that I had been elected over Hailey, having made my campaign against annexation, while Hailey had urged it. They urged the president to veto the bill so that I, when I entered Congress, would represent the true sentiment of the people on the subject."

According to the *Teller*⁵⁴ the people of northern Idaho, in the election of 1886, were advised to vote for Hailey⁵⁵ as one who could be relied on to represent the popular will, but false reports had been spread that Hailey had made statements in southern Idaho unfriendly to annexation. This cost him votes in the northern counties, while in southern Idaho pro-Mormonism was charged against him. Dubois received 7842 votes and Hailey 7416 in the territory. In Nez Perce county Hailey had only 304 majority over Dubois, while at the same time an advisory vote on annexation to Washington carried 1675 to 28.

In the report of Governor Stevenson to the Secretary of the Interior for 1888, the sentiment of Idaho Territory on the annexation question is discussed. As evidence of a reversal of sentiment Stevenson cites the resolution of the fourteenth territorial legislature (January 12, 1887) against the separation of the northern counties which passed the Council by 9 to 3 and the House by 20 to 4. In this resolution the fear is expressed that the dismemberment of Idaho would postpone its prospects of statehood indefinitely. The Governor also cites a similar resolution of the Democratic territorial convention at Boise in June, 1888, which was carried by 44 to 6, the six negative votes all coming from Nez Perce and Latah county delegates.

During this time popular feeling in southern Idaho broke the terms of settlement outlined in the 1884-85 memorial, and the declarations of the party platforms. Popular petitions were largely signed

⁵³ *Idaho Statesman* (Boise), October 27, 1929.

⁵⁴ *The Teller* (Lewiston), December 2, 1886.

⁵⁵ Hailey was personally opposed to the separation of northern Idaho, but he tried to carry out what seemed to be the wish of the people at the time of his election.

protesting against the division of the territory, while from the northern counties many petitions were sent to Congress urging separation. The Congressional Record shows that a barrage of petitions praying for separation or protesting against it fell upon Congress. This zealous activity in putting up prayers to Washington continued in the fiftieth Congress, for on February 13, 1888, Mr. Voorhees presented a petition signed by 1845 citizens of northern Idaho asking for annexation to Washington, while on another day Mr. Dubois, now delegate from Idaho, presented one having 4500 signatures against it.

There were certain indications of hesitation on the part of some of the residents of northern Idaho at the very time when it seemed as though they were about to break the bonds against which they had chafed so long. Some opposition was shown in Idaho county because the Salmon river line of division would cut the county in two. The most strident note of dissent, however, came from miners in the Coeur d'Alenes, who preferred to be united to Montana. In the debate of February 23, 1886, John Hailey said scornfully:

"Now, at this late date, some of these northern counties, I understand, are kicking about it when they find that they can really be annexed to Washington Territory, and they do not want it near so bad as they thought they did. Some of them say that they prefer to go to Montana Territory,⁵⁶ and for that reason they send in here and oppose the passage of the bill which proposed to give them the very thing they have been asking for so many years, and I therefore insist on the passage of the bill."

As we look back at it now, we can see that the flood tide of the annexation movement had passed, but its supporters still fought on.⁵⁷ The annexationists were disappointed and angry, but their anger was directed at Stevenson and the Boise politicians more than at the president. Leland's defiant reaction was expressed in the *Teller*:⁵⁸

⁵⁶ An advisory vote in Shoshone county in 1886 gave the following result: For annexation to Montana, 254; for annexation to Washington, 112; for remaining in Idaho, 53. On March 8, 1886, a petition of 600 citizens of the Panhandle praying to be annexed to Montana was presented to Congress. The report of S. T. Hauser, Governor of Montana, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated September 27, 1886, in H. Ex. Doc. 1, Part 5, vol. 2, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 829-835 contains valuable information on this matter.

⁵⁷ The humorous side of the annexation question frequently found expression in verse. Miss North Idaho speaks:

"Oh! Washington, my sweetheart dear,
You'll have to wait another year,
For though to you I fain would go
My papa, 'Crover,' he says 'No,'
And as you know, my dear, we are neither old
And a year will not make our love grow cold.
We'll brave misfortune's stormy weather,
And next year will see us joined together."
—Colfax Commoner.

"There is a new segregation party forming in this territory which will interest you, Kelly,⁵⁹ with a congressional candidate in the field who will stand upon a platform upon which all honest men, without regard to party, will stand: Dismemberment of Idaho. Coeur d'Alene, if it desires, to Montana; Kootenai, the rest of Shoshone, Nez Perce and Idaho, to Washington; southeastern Idaho to Nevada; and Milton Kelly and Boise City to Hades."

There were meetings at Lewiston and Grangeville; a committee of twelve drafted an elaborate statement of the situation and of the wishes of the people in the Northern counties which fills three and one-half columns in the *Teller*.⁶⁰ Both the Republican and Democratic conventions in Nez Perce county endorsed annexation. On October 15, 1888, a large mass meeting was held at Cove, Idaho, and much enthusiasm was shown. Judge Norman Buck, at the invitation of the meeting, became an independent candidate on an annexationist platform, and although his campaign only started a short time before the election, he polled a large vote in the northern counties, and in Latah and Nez Perce he received 1295 votes against 682 for Dubois and Hawley, combined, who were the regular Republican and Democratic candidates. In Shoshone county, however, Buck obtained only 35 votes out of a total vote of 1805. Altogether in the five northern counties Dubois had 1847, Hawley 1772 and Buck, 1454. It is evident that population changes, especially in Shoshone county, and new issues were pushing the annexation question into the background.

The agitation in behalf of statehood for Idaho, which was seriously undertaken in 1888, tended to weaken the sentiment for separation in northern Idaho, and caused some of the former friends of the movement to withdraw their support. A united Idaho might obtain admission to the Union and the political interests of the northwest would be strengthened by two senators and a representative. But southern Idaho alone was not likely to become a state for many years, and moreover, there were schemes afoot to attach a part of southern Idaho to Nevada. Senator Stewart, of that state, had announced a plan of this kind. Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, who had hitherto favored the division of Idaho, now declared that, all things considered, it was best to accept the *status quo* and to try to get Idaho admitted as a state. In this way, according to Mitchell's view, the strength of the far west in Congress would be materially increased. In response to these considerations a division of opinion

59 Milton Kelly was publisher and proprietor of the *Idaho Statesman* (Boise).

60 *The Teller*, January 19, 1888.

among the people of the northern counties was beginning to appear.

At this time, the majority in the legislature tried to placate northern sentiment by establishing the State University at Moscow, and by authorizing the issue of \$50,000 in bonds to build a wagon road from Mt. Idaho, in Idaho county, to Little Salmon Meadows, in Washington county. This would be built through a part of the barrier area, and would make communication somewhat more practicable.

On January 22, 1889, an event occurred at Lewiston that indicated the growing rift in opinion that was now beginning to appear among the residents in the very stronghold of separation. A meeting was held to discuss ways and means of securing statehood. Four days before, the House of Representatives had passed the Omnibus Bill for the admission of the two Dakotas, Montana, and Washington. Washington was to be admitted with her territorial boundaries and without the northern Idaho section. Evidently Washington intended to seize the opportunity to become a state without waiting for the annexation of northern Idaho. Under the conditions, the advocates of annexation had a hard problem to face. Should they wait indefinitely hoping for annexation, or should they unite their efforts with southern Idaho and try to gain statehood without further delay? A hot debate ensued and the annexationists withdrew to frame resolutions defining their position, while the original meeting⁶¹ adopted resolutions demanding that Idaho should be admitted to the Union with its existing boundaries. The resolutions urged the united efforts of "our sister town and counties" in asking the immediate action of Congress.

This meeting was indicative of a remarkable change in opinion. Here, where the doctrine of separation had been held most tenaciously, new political interests were becoming manifest. Evidently a new era was approaching—one that held a promise of happier days politically for the elongated territory. The time had come for northern Idaho to lay the annexation movement away, to accept the inevitable, and to adjust itself to the existing situation.

When both Idaho and Washington had been admitted to the Union, the likelihood of any modification in their boundaries became exceedingly remote. Nevertheless the incompatibility of the regions revived at times the question of separation. Although the people had accepted the existing boundaries, they nevertheless imagined on those occasions that they would have enjoyed greater political hap-

61 According to the *Teller* 90 withdrew from the meeting and 43 remained; and the news despatches that were sent out grossly misrepresented the matter.

piness if, in the sectional marriages to form states, they had been joined to different partners.

Two of these regretful moods may be briefly mentioned—both based on the idea of the formation of an interior territory or state along the lines of the abortive Columbia Territory of 1866. With the first, which occurred in 1907, northern Idaho had little to do, although its promoters declared that they had the support of the people living there. The 1907 plan aimed to remodel the northwestern states by creating a new state out of eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and northeastern Oregon. The proposed state was popularly referred to as the state of Lincoln,⁶² and in 1917 the same name was suggested. Southern Idaho was to receive in compensation a part of what remained from eastern Oregon. The net losers in population and area would be western Washington and Oregon.

This movement was started at the annual banquet of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, where many people became interested and considerable enthusiasm was evoked when the idea was proposed. During January and February it was the subject of numerous editorials, interviews, and explanatory articles.⁶³ The business situation furnished a significant background. At the time, the leaders of affairs in Spokane were very optimistic. New railroads were reaching into the Inland Empire, and all the signs betokened a period of growth and prosperity. Moreover, the freight rate situation was looking better. For years the interior had struggled against rates greater than those to coast terminals. Back in 1889 Spokane had begun its fight for better rates, but thus far the gains had been small. In 1906 the Hepburn law had rejuvenated the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and Spokane had promptly presented her case. An important meeting of the I.C.C. was held in Spokane early in 1907 and the city was keenly alive to the opportunity of a possible victory. According to the *Spokesman-Review* the coast cities were showing an unfriendly spirit in standing by the railroads in their unwillingness to concede the reductions demanded by the interior. Along with these economic complaints

⁶² Another attempt to use the name of Lincoln may be noted in the favorable report by the House Committee on Territories in the forty-fifth Congress, February 28, 1878. (Report 110 in serial 1789.) It proposed to make the region between the 23rd and 28th meridians (Washington) and the forty-third and forty-ninth parallels into this territory. It would have included the western parts of the Dakotas, eastern Montana, and the northeastern part of Wyoming. The greater part of the area would have been taken from the western half of the Dakotas, and would have left a single state of Dakota with its longer axis running north and south.

⁶³ In the *Spokesman-Review* for January 13, 1907, to March 11, there are 31 articles and editorials on the subject.

were charges that western Washington monopolized the political opportunities of the state.

Although economics and political rivalries were keen, the separatist project did not draw much popular interest and is to be viewed partly as a reprisal action and partly as a booster organization movement. The newspapers of western Washington and Oregon did not take the matter seriously and directed their jibes at Spokane, alleging that the Inland city was ambitious to become the political and business center of the new state. The Portland *Oregonian*, of January 28, 1907, accuses Spokane of ill-temper and churlishness, and suggests that under the circumstances western Washington might follow Satan's example of dealing with Mephistopheles—giving him a hunk of brimstone and telling him to go off and start a little hell of his own. Newspapers outside of the areas immediately concerned do not seem to have regarded the proposal sympathetically, and after several weeks, the articles in the *Spokesman-Review* became infrequent and the matter passed out of the minds of the people.

The antagonism between Northern and Southern Idaho flared up sharply during the legislative session of 1917. The issue seems to have been revived by a proposal to move the State University from Moscow to South Idaho as a part of a program for consolidating the institutions of higher education. This was considered in a joint meeting of the education committees of both houses, January 27. Senators and representatives from the northern part of the state began to urge the secession of North Idaho, and in this they had for a time considerable support from the southeastern counties. Southwestern Idaho was opposed to the movement. On January 31 the plan to move the University was indefinitely postponed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 41 to 4, and this decisive vote was said to have been secured to allay the secession agitation.

However, the movement seemed to gather, rather than to lose, momentum. It was announced on February 4 that a sufficient number of votes had been secured in both houses to pass a resolution memorializing Congress to create a new state out of Northern Idaho. On the same day a large mass meeting was reported to have met at Coeur d'Alene and to have heartily endorsed the plan of separation.

The names of the members of the Legislature who were reported pledged to separation were published February 6th and these lists constituted a majority of both houses. It was announced that

a constitutional convention would meet at Moscow, June 17, and that the southern boundary of the new state would be the southern boundary of Idaho County. The preamble to the proposed resolution stated that the division was necessary because of geographical conditions, the mountain and canyon barriers across the central portion of the state, the fact that the North was humid and the South arid, that their industries and interests were different and that there was no convenient railroad communication between the two areas.

The southern boundary, as proposed, commenced where the township line between townships 9 and 10 intersected the main channel of the Snake River, and from that point ran east on this township line until it reached the divide between the Salmon and Snake rivers, and then followed the divide easterly to the Montana boundary. It will be noticed that this division proposed a line considerably more to the south than did the divisional plan of the territorial period.

The State Affairs Committees of both houses decided to send the resolution to the Committees of the Whole in each house without recommendation, as they believed that so momentous a question should be considered by all the members of the legislature. On February 19 the lower house in committee of the whole approved (41-18) the plan of state separation after amending the resolution by withdrawing Washington and Adams counties from the proposed new state. In this action it was noteworthy that votes from southeastern Idaho, together with those from the northern counties, passed the measure. The House of Representatives, on February 26, took up the Committee report and passed the resolution by a vote of 36 to 25.

The Senate did not act on the joint resolution until the last day of the session, and then, by an adverse vote of 32 to 10, the resolution was tabled. All the ten votes in its favor came from North Idaho.

The correspondent of the Portland *Oregonian*, writing from Boise, under date of February 10, gives an unprejudiced view of the question. He believed that the plan of division was likely to fail, as the proposed state would be too small, without portions of Washington and Montana, to get the approval of Congress. At the same time, he admitted the surprising strength of the idea. This came from the fact that the two parts were diverse in interests and that communication was difficult. As communities, they were quite different. To remedy the situation, north and south highways and a

north and south railroad would help. Otherwise, the barriers would remain to the detriment of both sections. The agitation to change the location of the state institutions had not improved the situation.

The division issue has become a memory, but it still furnishes a subject for a newspaper story⁶⁴ when disputes arise regarding offices or state schools. Everyone must recognize that readjustments of state lines is now practically a political impossibility and probably all but a few have become satisfied with existing conditions. The completion of a finely improved highway from the North to Boise, and the building of a railroad link down the Snake canyon from Homestead, Oregon, to Lewiston, would add greatly to the political and economic unity of the state. A large part of the North and South Highway has already been finished, but the Homestead-Lewiston road waits in the future. The business interests of Lewiston have tried to secure from the Interstate Commerce Commission an order requiring the construction of this connecting line, but on March 23, 1929, Examiner John L. Rogers filed with the Commission an adverse report. According to the report, the amount of probable traffic would not justify the heavy expense of construction. On October 29, 1929, arguments were made before the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of the public service commissions of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, to compel the railroads concerned to build the 126 miles of connecting line. To this order the railroads opposed strenuous objections. It was interesting to note that one of the arguments offered by the state of Idaho was that it was entitled to direct North and South railroad service without being compelled to traverse Oregon and Washington in getting from one end of the state to the other.⁶⁵ On January 17, 1930, the I.C.C. rendered an opinion refusing to order the Union and Northern Pacific railroads to jointly build the line. The commission held that the \$22,000,000 of probable cost would not be justified by the public interest although it would be a great convenience to travelers and the movement of freight and would shorten the distance between Boise and Lewiston by 200 miles. Although the present attitude of the transportation companies is opposed to the investment of the necessary capital, it seems reasonable to believe that the advantages of a water grade route, as compared with the climb over the moun-

⁶⁴ As an example, see the *Spokane Daily Chronicle* of March 16, 1929, page 2, column 1: "Lincoln State Again is Talked."

⁶⁵ Nearly 50 years ago the *Idaho Statesman* was predicting that the Oregon Short Line would build directly to Lewiston and furnish a connecting link between North and South Idaho thus taking away all the argument in favor of a division of the territory. *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman*, February 20, 1883.

tains of Eastern Oregon will in time cause the railroads, of their volition, to utilize this natural pass from South Idaho to tidewater.

Moreover, if, as so many believe, we are about to enter an era of aerial transportation, whatever of inconvenience there has been in the shape or topography of Idaho will disappear when the passenger from Sandpoint or Coeur a'Alene to Boise can be carried to his destination across mountain ranges and river canyons in two or three hours. Perhaps this will be the ultimate solution.

C. S. KINGSTON⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The writer wishes to recognize the material assistance furnished by the following: Mr. J. Orin Oliphant, Cambridge, Mass.; Mr. T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla; Mr. W. S. Lewis, Spokane; Hon. Sam B. Hill, U.S. Representative, Washington, D.C.; Mr. T. H. Shontz, Asst. Sec. of State, Boise, Idaho; Mr. Charles F. Curry, Clerk of Committee on Territories, U.S. House of Representatives; Miss Ruth Rockwood, Reference Librarian, Portland, Oregon; ex-Senator Fred T. Dubois, Washington, D.C.

AN EXTRAORDINARY CANOE RACE FROM ASTORIA IN 1811

That there should have been a quasi-international canoe race from Astoria to the Cascades almost immediately after Astoria had been established is surprising, but that much more than a century should have passed without it being known is even more surprising. The accounts written by the two chief contestants give the details, but since neither mentioned that there was any race it is not surprising that it only became known by an endeavor to reconcile what seemed to be glaring discrepancies in the two accounts.

There are six different accounts¹ of the arrival of David Thompson at Astoria, and of his return up the Columbia in company with David Stuart. The perfectly natural supposition is that they all went together. But this is where the many discrepancies occur. By piecing together the two detailed accounts of the fact of the race has come to light.

Thompson, a partner of the North-West Company, had his crew of French Canadians and Indians,² and was in his own canoe. David Stuart, partner of the Pacific Fur Company was accompanied by ten persons. Four clerks, Ross, Pillet, McLennan, and Montigny. Two unnamed French Canadians and two Hawaiians, one of whom was John Coxe who subsequently exchanged for Michael Boulard³ of Thompson's party. There were also the two Indian women, one of whom was masquerading as a man.

The first discrepancy in the accounts is the number of canoes since some mention two and some three. Possibly there were but two full sized canoes, and a small canoe belonging to the two Indian women. Since the "prophetess" Ko-come-ne-pe-ca⁴ knew that she would probably be attacked at the Cascades it is quite probable that she desired to travel in one of the large canoes where she

¹ Gabriel Franchere, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, 1854, p. 122; Thwaites' edition, p. 254. Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Chapter 10; Hudson edition, p. 144. Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, 1831, Vol. I, p. 85. Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, 1849, pp. 102-108, Thwaites' edition, pp. 115-121. "Journal of David Thompson, annotated by T. C. Elliott, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV, June, 1914, pages 105-111. David Thompson, *Narrative*, Champlain Society, Toronto, pp. 512-3.

² David Thompson had with him Michael Boulard, who had been with him when he established Kootenae House, 1807; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVI, March, 1925 p. 35, and was exchanged near the Cascades on this trip for a Hawaiian with Stuart, who was named John Coxe. Ross, as above, pp. 114, 199-200, Thwaites' edition, pp. 125, 199-200. For the interesting biography of this Hawaiian, *38th Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, 1929, p. 20. Joe Cote and Pierre Pariel, who had been with Thompson in his terrible journey across Athabasca pass, 1810-11. Elliott Coues, *Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry*, 1897, pp. 667-669. Michael Beauredeau and Francois Gregoire, who had been with Coaster, or Courteur, at a post on Clark's Fork in 1809. Coues, as above, p. 674, and two Iroquois, Charles and Ignace. He also had two Indian interpreters.

³ For Boulard and Coxe see note 2.

⁴ For the "Prophetess" Ko-come-ne-pe-ca, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XX, July, 1929, p. 201; XXI, April, 1930, p. 120.

would be protected by the white men. It would not have been difficult for some arrangement to be made whereby those two women, accostomed to paddling, would be preferred to the clerks who might have resented the thought of acting in the capacity of mere voyageurs.

Stuart undoubtedly had one of the large canoes,⁵ apparently with three of the men, and Pillet, the clerk, may have been in charge of the other with one man and the two women. Ross mentions two clerks with his canoe, one of whom must have been McLennan. Montigny may have been the other, since these three appear to have been friends and subsequently joined the North-West Company.⁶

Apparently a youthful desire to show their superiority led them to start at eleven o'clock, while the others with David Thompson did not leave until 1:24 p.m., for Thompson was accurate to the minute in recording the time.

Ross tells how he ran aground on the shoals near Cathlamet Point, and passed Puget Island and the Indian village on Oak Point, which he calls Whill Wetz, possibly the Indian pronunciation of Winship, who had attempted to establish a post there. Those youths appear to have reached Green Point that night, and were many miles in advance of Thompson, who had been compelled to delay on account of Stuart being unable to sail around Tongue Point. From there they had crossed to Harrington Point, and passed a very uncomfortable night in the rocky shores between Harrington Point and Skamokawa.⁷

The second day Ross and his friends made a good run and put up near the present site of St. Helens, Oregon, at the village of the noted Chief Ki-er-sin-no.⁸ The third day they reached Wasough-ally, the earliest mention of Washougal, opposite the mouth of "Quicksand River," now called Sandy. They had made good time, and were far ahead of Thompson, who had only reached Green Point at the end of the second day, where Ross had camped the first night. Thompson camped near the village of Ki-ersin-no the third night, and opposite the main mouth of the Willamette the fourth night. He called that river Wilarbet. The fifth night he

5 Thompson on July 28th took Stuart's [two] canoes up the Cascades, and on July 29th, "Went and fetched a light canoe of Mr. Stuart's." *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XV, June, 1914, p. 112.

6 For McLennan joining the North-West Company, Cox, as above, I, 208. Ross joined January 8, 1814; Coues, as above, 790. Montigny, Franchere, as above, 278; Thwaites' edition, p. 345.

7 The camping places mentioned may be found by Ross' account and the detailed courses in Thompson's journal.

8 The spelling of the name of this noted chief is Kyassino, Keassino, Kiersinno, Keyassno, Kassenow, Kersinous, Cazenove, Casenove, Carsino, Casanov and Casseneau.

camped at Washougal, having taken five days to go as far as Ross had gone in three.

The fact that Stuart's two canoes were loaded with thirty-six packages,⁹ each weighing about ninety pounds, will account for the apparent slowness. Although the accounts do not mention it, it is possible that some of Thompson's men were in Stuart's canoes, or they could hardly have made as good time as they did.

Ross was full two days ahead at Washougal, and those youths probably chuckled in glee at the progress they had made, although since their canoe had a sail and but little cargo it is easily explained. But from Washougal to the Cascades they found the conditions of navigating very different than the smooth sailing they had enjoyed. It is really surprising that they even reached the Cascades in three more days. Ross recorded that "The current assumed double force, so that our paddles proved almost ineffectual; and to get on, we were obliged to drag ourselves along from point to point, by laying hold of bushes and the branches of overhanging trees, which, although they impeded our progress in one way, aided us in another."

It took them three arduous days to reach the present site of Bonneville, Oregon where they camped and named the cliff above them Inshoach Castle. That same night Thompson and Stuart camped across the river, having made the journey from Washougal in one day, which shows that their skill in a strong current was infinitely superior to that of the impetuous youths.

It was a good race, however, and gives a little insight into a minor episode of the Astorians.

J. NEILSON BARRY

⁹ Ross mentions about 35 packages in the canoes, on July 22nd, and says they paid at the Cascades 10 buttons for each package, amounting to 360 buttons, pp. 102, 115, Thwaites' edition, pp. 115, 126-7.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF CHENEY

It has occurred to me that it may be well to call attention to the fact that the City of Cheney reaches the half-century of age in this year, 1930. It was in November, 1880, that the newly founded town won from Spokane Falls the celebrated Spokane County-seat contest. Cheney remained the seat of Spokane County until after the election of November, 1886, after which the honor remained with Spokane Falls, now Spokane. That city's earliest newspaper omitted the final "e" and called itself *The Spokan Times*. A file is now available in the State Normal School at Cheney. From it, I have gleaned the following earliest newspaper mentions of the town of Cheney:

"*A Rural Trip*—A party consisting of Messrs. Davis and Cornelius, with four other gentlemen of our town started out last week to look for claims and get an intelligent view of the character, resources and extent of the large region between the Spokan and Snake rivers along the line of the N. P. R. R. They found several embryo cities already staked out, to which the names of Marshalltown, Depot Lake, Augusta, Sprague and Ritzville are attached. All are advantageously located, with elements of future growth, but Depot Lake and Sprague are thought to have the brightest prospects."—*The Spokan Times*, April 1, 1880.

"*Depot Springs*—Here we have the name of a newly located town of no small pretensions. It also has many natural advantages which entitle it to claims as a probable shipping point of importance at no distant day. Depot Springs is located on the line of the N. P. Railroad, about equidistant between Marshall and Augusta; and is fourteen miles from Spokan Falls. This new station is in the midst of a fine section of agricultural lands."—*The Spokan Times*, May 15, 1880.

"*Name Changed*—The town recently laid out at Depot Springs has had its name changed from Billings to Cheney. Hon. Benj. P. Cheney is one of the Directors of the Northern Pacific railroad and Frederick Billings is President. Cheney is one of the five towns recently located on the line of the N. P. R. R., between Ainsworth and Spokan Falls."—*The Spokan Times*, September 11, 1880.

"*Notice*—The new town recently located on the N. P. R. R., at Depot Springs, and called Billings, has had its name changed to that of Cheney, by which name it will hereafter be known. All persons wishing Cheney to obtain the county seat will please vote accordingly. J.B."—*The Spokan Times*, September 25, 1880."

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

DOCUMENTS

Our First Official Horticulturist

(Continued from Vol. XXI., page 229)

[The Wilkes Expedition inland party under Lieutenant Johnson are four days out from Nisqually on the Naches Trail across the Cascade Mountains to the eastern part of Old Oregon, now Eastern Washington and Idaho. The previous installment broke off in the middle of the entry for May 23, 1841.]

Oregon Country—Inland Expedition (Continued)

Our route [a]cross the range lay somewhat to the north of Mt. R[ainier] where the finest timber exists that I ever beheld. For several days our route lay through dense forests of Spruce the stems so straight and clean that it was seldom you could find a branch closer than 150 feet to the ground. A prostrate trunk of a Spruce which we took with a tape line measured—length 265 ft. circumfe: (10 ft. from base) 35 ft. When this tree fell the top had broke[n] of[f], where it measured 18 inches in diameter, and allowing the top piece to be 20 ft. the whole height of Said tree when standing would be 285 ft. In deep moist valleys I have seen the Thuja, or Arbor Vita at least $\frac{1}{3}$ more in circumference, but not so high by 100 ft. A Populus, or Cotton tree which we measured was upwards of 200 ft. high. Many of the Spruce stems which lay prostrate were so stout that when on horse back we could not see over them. On the decayed bark of such seedlings of the Spruce vegetated⁷² freely, forcing their roots through the bark, over the body of the trunk, till the[y] reached the ground so that when said trunk became entirely decayed, the roots of the young trees became robust [and] formed a sort of arch way,⁷³ under which we occasionally rode.

24th. Game on these mountains is exceedingly scarce, and although we had three excellent Indian hunters in our party, and could also do a little in the shooting line ourselves, yet up to this time only one Deer and three or four Grouse had been killed; tracks of Bears had been observed several times but none seen.—

25th. The banks of the Streams and Rivers which we came in contact with afforded the greatest variety of trees and Shrubs, these consisted of Populus, Rhamnus,⁷⁴ 50 ft. h:, Cornus 30 to 40 ft: h:,

⁷² *Spruce vegetated.* The hemlock is more likely to be found growing on the down logs.

⁷³ *Sort of archway.* Such are found, but the size of these is, to say the least, sensational.

⁷⁴ *Rhamnus.* Probably, because of its height, the cascara.

several species of *Salix*,⁷⁵ *Alnus*,⁷⁶ *Acer*⁷⁷ 2 species, & occasionally a solitary Yew. The Shrubs or under gro[w]th in the forest were chiefly—Hazel, *Vaccinium*, *Gaultheria*, a prickly species⁷⁸ of *Aralia* with large peltate leaves. *Euonymus*,⁷⁹ a little evergreen shrub, was also common. The herbaceous plants in such places were—*Goodeyra*, *Neottia*,⁸⁰ several species, *Claytonia*, *Corallorrhiza*,⁸¹ *Aquilegia*⁸²—the majority of such plants had not yet come into flower, so that we left many of such till our return. During the early part of this day we had to cross a deep and rapid River⁸³—we had for the two past days made a great ascent on the range & were still continuing to do so, and the water from the Snow Mts. rushing down confined valleys acted powerful in sweeping logs and every thing else that came in its way before it, forming bridges, over which we sometimes crossed, & swam our horses.—

26th. In the early part of this day we came to a small open patch of prairie ground⁸⁴ where there was good feed for the Horses—here the party haulted & partook of some breakfast. Mr. Johnson arranged & drew up orders for a party which was to start on foot, and cross the mountains, to ascertain the possibility of getting the horses through the Snow—finding such to be practicable to send back a native to inform him of the same. Mr. Waldron was intrusted with this party, which consisted of Dr. Pickering, myself, Pier[r]e Charles as guide, with 10 or 12 Indians loaded with baggage belonging to our party, to ease the horses. Our foot party left Mr. J's Camp at A.M. and after proceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ mile came to a rapid river⁸⁵ where we had to cut down two large trees to get over—the way through the forest was smooth and firm, the air cool and clear—we marched forward at a rapid rate, the natives keeping up like good fellows, nevertheless that many of them had upwards of 90 lbs⁸⁶ on their backs. In the afternoon we came to the base of a very long and rather tough looking mountain to climb, but to it we set—and long before all of the party got to the top, the Doctor and

75 *Salix*, willow.

76 *Alnus*, alder.

77 *Acer*, maple.

78 Prickly species. Probably devil's club, *Echinopanax horridum* (Piper), *Fatsia horrida* (Frye and Rigg).

79 *Euonymus*. Could this have been *Pachistima myrsinifolia*? The only species of *Euonymus* known here is deciduous.

80 *Neottia*, an old synonym for *Spiranthes* (lady's tresses).

81 *Corallorrhiza*, coral-root.

82 *Aquilegia*, columbine.

83 rapid river. The White.

84 prairie ground. A half mile below the confluence of the Greenwater.

85 rapid river. Greenwater.

86 90 lbs. Dr. Pickering comments: "It did not appear to have been remarked that there were slaves in the party; and I afterwards had some reasons to suspect that one man had been overloaded." *Quarterly*, XX:55. Pickering had been for many years a practicing physician.

Myself had reached the margin of the Snow. This was about Sun down, & we concluded to stop till the whole party came up—which was not till dark when Mr. W. made his appearance pretty well used up. We now pitched our Tent and there being no water near we melted snow to procure Water for Tea. As the Cooking of the Supper was going on, some one set fire to the moss covered trees, and in one minute all around was one glaring mass of flame. Now was a confusion and bustle—to get all our luggage to windward, & in the midst of the conflagration Dr. P. came near loosing the tails of his Coat by a brand of fire that had accidentally fallen into his pocket. During this days route we found few plants in flower it being yet too early in the season for such an elevation, but the ground we found covered with fine Spruce twigs and ascicles,⁸⁷ which I presume had got broke[n] off by heavy falls of Snow resting on the tops of the trees.—Walked today about 18 miles.

27th. At the commencement of this days route, the two first miles the snow was thin and crisp till we came upon an open space perhaps 15 or 20 acres in extent which I estimated to be the summit⁸⁸ of the range, Here all around, the spruce trees (there being no other) were more dense in foliage [foliage] and stunted in habit. The snow in this glade was deep and so firm that we walked on its surface. On leaving this opening we began to descend, when the snow became deeper, say 8 feet. The smaller of the Trees had become bent down by it, and on passing near these bows we often broke through and it was with some difficulty that we could extricate, particularly the poor Indians, with their heavy burdens. The whole breath of Snow we walked over was about 8 miles, and so soon as we got over the body on to thawed, clear patches, a Native was dispatched back to Mr. Johnson with a note to the effect that he might come on, and that the Guide and and other natives so soon as the[y] had taken us down to a good watering place should come on the following day as early as possible.

At three in the afternoon when we had got fairly clear of all snow we came upon the head of the Spipe River,⁸⁹ where we in camp'd pretty well fatigued after our heavy walking. Mr. Waldron dispatched 2 Indians down the River to an Indian settlement to procure fresh Horses, as we all anticipated that a good many of our old one[s] would not pass the Snow. I went out into the forest towards sundown and shot a brace of Grouce. I am not aware what

87 *ascicles.* Misspelling of acicles, needle-like spines or bristles.

88 *summit.* The Naches Pass.

89 *Spipe River..* The Naches River.

our height was here, but it struck me that the vegetation was farther advanced on the east side of the Mts. than it was at what I considered the same height on the West Side. The Pulmonarias⁹⁰ and several small annuals were in a more advanced state.

On our descent we fell in with a good many fine Larch trees and I could dis[c]ern a goodly number of them scattered very regularly through the Spruce forests beneath us. During the trip over the range I saw one real *Pinus*—(Pine) which consisted of a few small trees in an open place on the west side of the range, the Alpine plants which we expected to meet with on the high ridges being covered with Snow.

28th. Old Pier[r]e—the Guide—and Indians started early this morning to assist Mr. Johnson with the Horses, the major part of the luggage having been brot. over by us. Dr. P. and myself went a collecting & found some pretty curious plants particularly a glaucus leaved species⁹¹ of *Pyrola*, and a little fern—perhaps *Cheilanthes*⁹²—on a rocky situation.

29th. I wandered down the river about three miles. The Character of the country is Hilly, on both Sides of the River, with a low narrow marsh or meadow along its banks which was now partly overflowed above our camp; it is mountaneous & woody the same Character extending down the Country on the mounts. running in a parallel with the Spipe valley, at least so far as we could see.

Towards mid-day several of the Indians from Mr. J's party arrived at the camp. And in the afternoon Mr. J himself came on, having left four of the Horses behind, and came near loosing himself by getting out of the path when the Indians had left him. During the day one of the Indians sent down the river to procure horses, had returned without succeeding. The services of the indians being no more required, the[y] were all discharged with the exception of a smart young fellow⁹³ named Lashemere, who expressed a desire to accompany us. These indians who had received blankets in advance at the Fort when we started willingly gave them up to us and took an order for the whole amount due them, to be cashed at the same source. All the specimens that were dry, of my collecting, were neatly stitched up in a canvass cover by Mr. J. to be taken back to the Ship, accompanied by a note of instructions from myself to Mr.

90 *Pulmonarias*. The Lungwort is now *Mertensia*.

91 *glaucus leaved species*. *Pyrola picta*, variable wintergreen.

92 *Cheilanthes*, the lace fern.

93 smart young fellow. Dr. Pickering is authority for the statement that Lachemere was part Walla Walla. This would account for his desire to make the trip east of the mountains.

Dyes, relating to their preservation. Out of our short stock of provisions we had fed these natives for 10 days, and as the[y] would not eat Pork the[y] rec'd. Bread, so that after giving them a stock to take them back to Nesqually, our own was reduced to a few days allowance, particularly Bread—from this cause and hoarding up followed a state of starvation.—

30th. As there was not a sufficient number of horses to carry packs and riders, one was al[1]otted to Dr. P Sergt. Stearns & myself, to be used alternately, but as the Doctor and myself were prooved pedestrians & had plants to pick up, we started to walk while the party followed, keeping close to the river which had in many places overflowed its banks & filled small creeks on the flats, through which we were obliged to wade, as the banks behind was too steep and bushy to force a path. After proceeding 4 miles down from camp, the river by receiving several tributary streams from the Mts. was become unfordable—our path lay on the north side. The flats or meadows had now entirely dissapeared and small round ridges setting down towards its brink terminated in steep rocky bluffs through which the river rushed with great violence. This same character continued down the valley for at least 20 miles. Towards the eavening we could dis[c]ern a particular difference in the character of the vegetation—every thing was in a more advanced stage & several interesting genera of Plants made their appearance, as *Paeonia Brownii?* *Cypripedium*⁹⁴ *Oreogonium*, *Pentstemon*, *Ipomopsis elegans*,⁹⁵ and several neat little *Compositae*.

31st. Pursued the same system of movement as yesterday, found the atmosphere becoming perceptably warmer, although the Thermomiter this morning indicated 35, the cause of which was no doubt the cold winds from the snow on the high Mts. On the bank as we went along fell in with *Purshia tridentata*,⁹⁶ a very handsome flowering shrub:

While the Doctor & myself were ascending a steep hill, met Lashemere the Indian who reported that horses were procurable a considerable distance down the river; and that the old Chief *Tobias*⁹⁷ was comming on to meet us. At this place found a beautiful little species of *Polemonium*,⁹⁸ about three inches high. At mid-day met

⁹⁴ *Cypripedium*, lady's slipper. The *Narrative* couples *Oreogonium* with *Cypripedium*, thus: *Cypripedium oregonum*. This is probably correct as no genus *Oreogonium* is known.

⁹⁵ *Ipomopsis elegans*. Now *Gilia aggregata*, the scarlet gilia.

⁹⁶ *Purshia tridentata*, or *Kunzia tridentata*, antelope brush.

⁹⁷ Chief *Tobias*. He is called *Tidias* throughout the *Narrative*; but the form given by Splawn, *Te-i-as*, is probably nearest to the native word. He was father-in-law of the later famous Kamiakin. Dr. Pickering likened him to pictures of Red Jacket, famous Iroquois chief. (*Quarterly*, XX:55.) For Splawn's reference to him see *Ka-Mi-Akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas*, p. 16.

⁹⁸ *Polemonium*, Greek valerian.

two Indians from the Chiefs party on horseback, who wished us to mount which offer was declined—walking on till we came on the Old Chief encamp'd with his followers under a tree on this side of the River. After the usual shaking of hands, which he seemed to understand as the *whites* token of welcome, then in order to shew him that we knew also something of Indian etiquette, I filled a pipe of Tobacco put fire to the same & presented it to him. When he had finished we took a smoke all round. Then followed a shooting match, in which the Indians was worsted by our party. Mr. Johnson made the old fellow a present of *Scotch plaid*, a canaster of Powder, some Ball & Tobacco; which he took with as much cool indifference as if the whole had been due him.⁹⁹ On being informed that we were short of provisions he gave us a few dried Salmon, a few more we afterwards bot. of him. After partaking of some dinner the whole mooved farther down the river, where we encamped for the night, the natives leaving us before dark.

June 1st. Went about three miles farther down the River, where we fell in with the Old Chief again, who appeared to cast obstacles in our way in regard to horses, but Mr. J. at last by exchanging and purchase procured four. The party then struck off from the River in a north direction,¹⁰⁰ where we had a range of Mts.¹⁰¹ to cross. We had not got up more than 600 ft. when the vegetation as[s]umed quite a different aspect: on the top of a bare ridge¹⁰² we fell in with a number of Spinen Indians, collecting Cammass and other roots. From them we bought a small quantity of Cakes made from the roots of the last mentioned plant, and another¹⁰³ umbelliferous plant with a small oblong tuberous root¹⁰⁴ with a short neck at the top—its taste resembles that of a Parsnip. The proces[s] used to prepare these roots for bread, is to bake them in an oven heated by hot stones, when the[y] are taken out and dried, afterwards pounded between two stones till the[y] arrive at the consistancy of Corn meal—it is then knead[ed] into cakes and dried in the Sun. Such bread went rather hard¹⁰⁵ with us, but it was the best we had. These roots form the principal vegetable food of

99 due him. Dr. Pickering records that Tidias traced in the sand a map of the country through which they were to pass. *Quarterly*, XX:56.

100 nor direction. The party here, considerably above the confluence of the Tieton, reach the chief Indian arterial trail from Celilo (near The Dalles) to Chelan. The part to the southward of the Naches was known to Indians as the Eel's Trail.

101 range of Mts. the Cleman Mountains.

102 bare ridge. Umatum Ridge.

103 another. This seems to imply that camas is umbelliferous; but it is a *Liliaceae*.

104 tuberous root. *Lomatium couss*, the Cous, the Cowish, or biscuit root. The same plant is also classified as *Peucedanum couss*.

105 rather hard. They had been warned by Tidias that the route was a "hungry road." *Narrative*, p. 427. The *Narrative* further says: "Lieutenant Johnson had now succeeded in purchasing venison and salmon, and the party again had full allowance."

the natives all over the Oregon country, and tis not an uncommon thing to see 30 or 40 Indian women with a basket suspended from their shoulder and a pointed stick the size of a hoe handle, digging up Cammass roots in meadows, and so dilligent at work that the[y] seldom pay any attention to a passer by. The roots when well dried are stored away for winter stock.

The whole distance traveled today was about 13 miles, and I had the misfortune this day to loose my Note Book, so that what I have said of our route from Nesqually to this place is mostly from memory and partly from some of those who were in the party, but I believe it to be correct.—

2nd. The party this morning was delayed by one of our horses having strayed from the Camp, but so soon as found we proceeded on our route and arrived during the day at the Eyakema¹⁰⁶ River, where we fell in with a party of Indians encamped on its banks to the number of 30 or 40. The Chief¹⁰⁷ of the tribe soon arrived, whose bearing was morose & cold towards us. Procured a few fresh Salmon from him, and after partaking of some dinner, we inflated the Gum elastic Bolsters¹⁰⁸ in order to form a raft to carry our luggage over to the opposite bank, the river being to[o] deep to foord it. After making four runs we got the whole of our traps on the opposite side. We found the Bolsters to answer our purpose better than any canoe, being more safe, and carried a greater burden. The horses we had to swim, but got all over in good order. The character of the country between the Spipe and the Eyakema River is mountaneous very thinly wooded with about equal proportions of Spruce and Pine. A great many of the latter I observed to be forked¹⁰⁹ at top—a feature rather rare in this tribe. The soil is a poor obstinate yellow Loam producing very indifferent feed for Cattle—in the plant way it is rich. I mention a few of the finest—Lupinaster sp: with flesh colour'd flos:; Viola flos: white and purple, Parnassia,¹¹⁰ a very dwarf. sp:; Dodecatheon like integrifolia, Trol-

¹⁰⁶ *Eyakema*. The Yakima, near the site of Ellensburg.

¹⁰⁷ *The Chief*. In the *Narrative* he is called Kamiayah, son-in-law of Chief Tidias. He is known in history as Kamiakin. "He was one of the most handsome and perfectly formed Indians they had met with." *Narrative*, p. 428. This Indian chief, barely mentioned by Brackenridge, was almost as little noticed by the naturalist, Dr. Pickering. Although Kamiakin's name was unheralded then to his distinguished visitors, it was within fifteen years to ring out as that of the leader of the three years war against the settlers, 1856-8. Apparently Mr. Splawn overlooked this early reference to his great hero. Governor Stevens at the Walla Walla Council thus describes him: "He is a peculiar man, reminding me of the panther and the grizzly bear. His countenance has an extraordinary play, one moment in frowns, the next in smiles."—*Life of General Isaac I. Stevens*. By His Son. Ch. XXIX, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ *Bolsters*. These are called balsas throughout the *Narrative*.

¹⁰⁹ *forked*. This peculiarity is celebrated in Okanagan legend. "Ridge of the Forked Fines" has been suggested as a name for that part of the ridge overlooking Wenatchee Creek.

¹¹⁰ *Parnassia fimbriata*, grass of Parnassus.

lius¹¹¹ sp: Sisyrinchium¹¹² sp: the five last in marshy grounds. A sp: of Balsamoriza different from the one on Nesqually plains.—

3rd. We kept watch during the night on our luggage, the Indians looking rather suspicious, but every thing went on well. The breadth of the Eyakema may be about 100 yards, and along on both sides of it are large tracts of flat land of apparently good quality though rather of a sandy nature having evidently been overflowed by the river. In the early part of the forenoon a sandy prairie¹¹³ with a number of small shrubs on it was passed over. And immediately a group of Mts.¹¹⁴ set in by degrees upon us. We found these similar to those we had left yesterday. Towards evening the Thermom. fell to 30, which was any thing but comfortable.

4th. Broke up camp at 5 A.M. Started without breakfast. The Ice this morning on water beside our tent was the thickness of a Dollar, & by some accident the Baromiter tube got broke[n] which put an end to its use for the Cruize. The early part of the forenoon was cold with showers of sleet. Our road for the first 5 miles was over swampy ground on the brow of a Mt.¹¹⁵ A few patches of Spruce trees stud[d]ed the crest and the[y] began to thicken as we descended a small stream. On the banks of the same at 12 o'clock we haulted to take some breakfast; which was ready about one and served us at the same time as dinner also. In all our opperations we wanted system, but with such a leader we had all we could expect, in fact fared and got farther along than I at first anticipated we could with our journey.

Edited by O. B. SPERLIN

(To be Continued)

111 *Trollius laxus*, spreading globe flower.

112 *Sisyrinchium*, blue-eyed grass.

113 prairie. The party head north from near the site of Ellensburg, up Wilson (Kittitas) Creek and its tributary the Naneum. The crossing was made by Colockum Pass, 5323 feet elevation.

114 group of Mts. The Wenatchee Range, chiefly Table Mountain and Mt. Baldy.

115 Brow of a Mt. Brackenridge here passes lightly over one of the hardest days of the trip, over the Wenatchee Mountains. Swamps in the summit region are characteristic of the range.

BOOK REVIEWS

Responsible Government in Nova Scotia. By W. Ross LIVINGSTON, Ph.D. (University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume IX, No. 1, Iowa City, 1930. Pp. 280).

Though the title of this volume suggests a limited field, the subtitle, "A Study of Constitutional Beginnings of the British Commonwealth," lifts the subject at once onto the plane of world events and also enunciates a thesis which the author has consistently maintained: that Nova Scotia was the laboratory "in which were wrought principles and practices later applied in all the other great colonies of the British Empire." Several quotations from the speeches and essays of Joseph Howe, who wished to make Nova Scotia the normal school for the other colonies and indeed for the Empire, also enunciate a thesis that Howe, at least, was a conscious architect of the British Commonwealth which has transmuted an empire of dependencies into a partnership of freely associated dominions.

The work is in the main a narrative with occasional ventures into the paths of exposition and criticism, and, as such, it is undoubtedly the most complete account that has yet been written of the achievement of responsible government in Nova Scotia. While the study is concerned primarily with Nova Scotia, Professor Livingston has been careful to note opinion, change, development in the other British North American colonies and in Great Britain, thus placing his narrative of one small colony, hitherto, with one exception, treated as an annex to Canada, in its proper perspective as part of a far-flung evolving new colonial system. Hence the interplay of colonial politics, the mutual relations of colonial and British parties, the visits of governors-general to Nova Scotia, or Nova Scotian statesmen to Canada and to Great Britain, the exigencies of party politics in Great Britain are all faithfully recorded and revealed as dynamic factors.

Professor Livingston commences his study with an analysis of the elements of the population in Nova Scotia, its religious and economic characteristics; and, then, endeavors to show how the conflict of interests and ideals between the frontier and the capital ultimately developed into a conflict between democratic Nova Scotia, trusting to Imperial goodwill, and a petty Haligonian aristocracy, sheltering itself behind Mr. Mothercountry of the Colonial Office, in the name of loyalty and defence of the royal prerogative. He contends that Howe and his group fought not for self-government

alone but for self-government as a bond of imperial well-being and unity.

One of the most impressive incidents in the book is that in which two delegates from the Assembly, representing the democracy, and two from the Council, representing the Family Compact, sit in the Colonial Office in Downing Street; and, with the Colonial Secretary as judge, debate the true interpretation of the British constitution. From such scenes as these the British administrators learn that reformers in Nova Scotia may be trusted not only with their own domestic concerns but also as custodians of the will of the Crown.

The volume comprises, besides the text, two Forewords, designed to give it a wide imperial appeal, a number of historic despatches, extracts from the census of 1827, a map, and a bibliography. The text itself is well documented, and manifests skill in weaving a narrative out of source material. Unfortunately, there are several misprints; an omission of an entire line (p. 217); one definite error in which Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick) is confused with Sir Brenton Halliburton, who tried Howe in the libel case (p. 49); and one rather loose statement *passim*, that Nova Scotia enjoyed universal Manhood Suffrage. Further one or two of his analogies with Jefferson's ideals are far-fetched, unless the British Commonwealth be conceived as an Imperial federation. But, on the whole, Professor Livingston has done a creditable piece of work, creditable alike to his subject, his university, and his own open-mindedness.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the study did not include Nova Scotia's early demand for a voice in international relations; for here other economic factors which cannot be explained as a conflict between rural and urban, frontier and centre, caused the Conservative Haligonian aristocracy, as early as 1818, to take a very different attitude towards rule from Downing Street. In other words, the struggle for domestic responsible government is only half the story and its opponents in domestic affairs became its champions in international relations.

D. C. HARVEY

The United States After the World War. By JAMES C. MALIN.
(Boston: Ginn and Company, 1930. Pp. 584. \$3.40.)

The author is Associate Professor of History at the University of Kansas. His book is divided into four parts—"The United

States and the Establishment of International Government," "Domestic Policies After the World War," "United States Foreign Policies After the World War," "Politics and Political Theories." Appendix A gives the text of the covenant of the League of Nations, and Appendix B gives the text of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The portion most interesting to readers of this publication will be found in Chapter XXVIII, pages 364-385, entitled "Political Policies: The Pacific." Here he treats of general Pacific-Area Policies, of United States Possessions, Alaska, Hawaii, The Philippine Islands, China, and Japan. It is a distinct service to prepare this reasoned discussion of the most recent negotiations and practices pertaining to the Pacific area, fraught with so much importance in the present growth and future destiny of the United States.

While intended as a college textbook, Professor Malin's *The United States After the World War* is sure to find a welcome among general readers who desire a compact record of the field covered.

Diary of Francis Dickens. By VERNON LACHANCE. (Kingston, Ontario, Queen's University, 1930. Pp. 23.)

This is Bulletin 59 in the series published by Queen's University's Departments of History and Political and Economic Science. It relates to Canada's Northwest but an additional interest develops in the personality of the diarist. In Mr. LaChance's introduction is this paragraph:

"Inspector Francis Jeffrey Dickens had had wide and varied experience in his present line of work. It was a long stretch from the literary circle of his illustrious father, Charles Dickens, at Gad's Hill to the office of District Superintendent of the Bengal Police in India; then, after a sorrowful return to England, occasioned by his father's death, a still longer move to the prairies and forests of the new world. The problems, however, were not dissimilar. The tension of the decade or so following the Indian Mutiny and the necessity for tact and understanding in dealing with the natives had almost their replicas in the present situation in Canada."

Inspector Dickens of the North West Mounted Police began his work at Winnipeg in November, 1874, and his duties among Indians and fur hunters took him to Fort Walsh, Fort MacLeod and back again. The diary here reproduced covers eventful experiences in the spring of 1885.

Our Pacific County. By L. R. WILLIAMS. (Raymond, Washington: The Raymond Herald, 1930. Pp. 110. \$1.75.)

Mr. Williams, in his *Our Pacific County*, has undertaken to prepare a simple but dependable little book to be used in the schools of his home county. He has done the work well and, since histories of that county are scarce, the general collectors will wish to save this one. Only one thousand copies are printed, most of which will be needed by the schools. Many of the chapters in the book deal with towns and settlements, but chapters are also included dealing with Indians, discoverers, and industries.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. *Annual Reports for the Years 1927 and 1928.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929. Pp. 229.)

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *The Journal*, 1929-30. Vol. XXVIII. (New York: Society, 1930. Pp. 317.)

BEARD, CHARLES A. AND BEARD, MARY R. *The Rise of American Civilization.* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1930. Pp. 866. \$4.00.)

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Some Early Records and Documents of and Relating to the Town of Windsor, Connecticut, 1639-1703.* (Hartford: Society, 1930. Pp. 227.)

HAMMOND, O. G. *Some Things About New Hampshire.* 2nd ed. rev. (Concord: Society, 1930. Pp. 64.)

KETTLEBOROUGH, CHARLES. *Constitution Making in Indiana.* Vol. III, 1916-1930. (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department, 1930. Pp. 411.)

KIRKPATRICK, E. L. *The English River Congregation of The Church of the Brethren.* Iowa Monograph Series No. 2. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1930. Pp. 107.)

LIONBERGER, I. H. *The Annals of St. Louis 1764-1928.* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, c1930. Pp. 83.)

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings, October 1928-June 1929.* Vol. LXII. (Boston: Society, 1930. Pp. 453.)

NORTON, C. C. *The Democratic Party in Ante-bellum North Carolina 1835-1861.* The James Sprunt Historical Studies, Vol. 21, Nos. 1-2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. 276.)

QUAIFE, M. M. *The Attainment of Statehood.* Wisconsin Historical Publications, Collections, Vol. XXIX, Constitutional

- Series, Vol. IV. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, c1928. Pp. 965.)
- SHIPPEE, L. B. *Recent American History*. Rev. ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. Pp. 590. \$3.75.)
- THOMAS, B. P. *Russo-American Relations 1815-1867*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLVIII, No. 2. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. 185.)
- VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Proceedings*. (Montpelier: Society, 1930. Pp. 48.)
- WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Transactions*. Publication No. 110. (Cleveland: Society, 1929. Pp. 70.)
- WEST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. *Year Book*. Vol. VI. June 1930. (Abilene: Society, 1930. Pp. 192.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Revival of Interest in Gabriel Franchere

All readers of history of the Pacific Northwest are familiar with the work of Gabriel Franchere. His own book—*Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814*, and Washington Irving's references in his *Astoria* are as well known as the Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It is therefore a matter of sheer fascination to learn that Judge Charles H. Chapman of the Probate Court of Chippewa County, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, has found original documents of Franchere and of Peter B. Barbeau with whom he made two trips to Astoria. In reply to an inquiry from Mr. J. Neilson Barry, of Portland, Judge Chapman, among other things says: "In reference to Gabriel Franchere, one of his letter books is in the Carnegie Library in this City, and in my possession is a copy of the proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of this County in which Gabriel Franchere was the Clerk and his signature appears therein many times."

Judge Chapman has been invited to prepare an article on those documentary sources for this *Quarterly*.

New Era in History for Kamchatka

One of the most interesting of historic places in the North Pacific area is Petropavlosk on the coast of Kamchatka. It was from that port that Vitus Bering sailed in 1728 and discovered the Strait that has since borne his name. From the same port he led the great expedition in 1741 which resulted in the death of the leader and many of his crew after the discovery of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands.

On July 5, 1930, the Associated Press sent forth a Seattle message reporting great developments in Kamchatka in the lines of fishing, lumbering and oil-drilling. Mr. Henning Plaun, Danish Consul at Seattle, had received information that 30,000 Russians were to be moved from the White Sea region to populate Kamchatka. The Russian Government had purchased twenty vessels and chartered an equal number for the lumbering and other commerce and forty-eight vessels for the fishing industry.

The port used by Bering two hundred years ago is entering upon a new era of history.

Early Hawaiian Postal Facilities

Mr. Fred Lockley, known as "The Journal Man," has for years furnished the *Oregon Journal* of Portland regular correspondence on early Northwestern History. On May 12, 1930, his article was devoted to early postal facilities from Honolulu to the west coast of North America. He mentioned the sixty-year old agreement between the two countries, the first article of which included the following: "There shall be an exchange of correspondence between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom by United States mail steamers plying between San Francisco and Honolulu as well as steamers and sailing vessels running between Honolulu and San Francisco, Portland, Or., and various ports on Puget Sound, including Teekalet, Olympia and Port Townsend."

Mr. Lockley, in commenting on the old document, says: "But I must confess that I don't know where Teekalet on Puget Sound is." Some of the older pioneers could have told him that Teekalet was the former name of Port Gamble, a great lumber-shipping center of the early days. Rev. Myron Eells, Indian missionary, says Teekalet is an Indian word meaning "brightness of the noon-day sun."

Geographic Names Decisions

At the meeting on May 7, 1930, the United States Geographic Board rounded out a great amount of work on the names in Yellowstone National Park and published the decisions in a separate pamphlet of twenty-six pages. Similar work is under way for the other National Parks.

At the meeting of June 4, sixty-seven decisions were rendered. Of these, the larger number, thirty-nine, related to Alaska. One of the most interesting is Mount Eielson (formerly Copper Mountain) in Mount McKinley National Park. This is in accordance with the resolution of Congress and is an honor for Ben Eielson the well known aviator who lost his life while attempting to aid others in distress.

"Covered Wagon" Picnics

The Washington State Historical Society scheduled an outdoor meeting at Farmers' Picnic Grove, near Enumclaw, for August 23, as an observance of the Covered Wagon Centennial. President Clifford L. Babcock was to be chairman. George H. Himes and Lee Baker who came by ox teams by way of Naches Pass in 1853, had places on the program.

At Old Fort Laramie, Wyoming, a similar pioneers' reunion was held on August 15. R. S. Ellison was chairman and the speakers included Governor Frank C. Emerson, former Governor B. B. Brooks, of Wyoming, and Congressman Simmons of Nebraska. A pageant featured a covered wagon train. There was also a stage coach holdup and other events in which Indians and pioneers participated.

Professor J. Orin Oliphant

Over a period of ten or more years, Professor J. Orin Oliphant has contributed valued articles and for the past six years, he has served as a Contributing Editor of the Washington Historical Quarterly. He was a member of the administration and instructional staffs of the State Normal School at Cheney, except during the past three years while completing his work for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Harvard. He has now accepted the position of Professor of Social Science at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Many friends in the State of Washington are following his progress with confident interest.

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